3 1822 00109 0786

HENRY CODMAN POTTER

GEORGE HODGES



THE CELLAR BOOK SHOP
18090 WYOMING



THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

HENRY CODMAN POTTER



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/henrycodmanpotte00hodgiala



Henry Codman Potter

1903

HENRY CODMAN POTTER

SEVENTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK

BY

GEORGE HODGES

DEAN OF THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1915

All rights reserved

COPYRIGHT, 1915,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published October, 1915.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

THE WARRIOR-PRIEST

He was our warrior-priest beneath whose gown
The mailèd armor took full many a dent
When, at the front, all gallantly he went,
In civic fight, to save the belovèd town;
Then did the proud, outrageous foe go down,
To shame and wide disaster swiftly sent,
Struck by his steel to flight — in wonderment
To see that calm brow wear the battle frown.
For he was courteous as a knight of eld,
And he the very soul of friendliness;
The spirit of youth in him lost never its power;
So sweet his soul, his passing smile could bless;
But this one passion all his long life held:
To serve his Master to the last, lingering hour.

RICHARD WATSON GILDER.

Century Club
December 12, 1908.

PREFACE

Richard Watson Gilder, of the *Century Magazine*, wrote to Bishop Potter in 1902 in the hope of persuading him to be his own biographer.

"You know," he said, "what Samuel Johnson says about biography — that every man should write his own life. . . . Have you not already begun jotting down your reminiscences? I hope you have, or, if not, I hope you will begin. Of course, such things should be written as if not for publication. The question of how much should be printed, and when, would come in afterwards. You would probably think, in writing, that it would be only after your translation to the board of heavenly bishops. As a matter of fact, you might find that many chapters would be very good reading during your own lifetime. I am writing both as an editor and as a representative of our publishers in stirring you up about this."

This pleasant invitation Bishop Potter declined. At the same time, quite unconsciously, he was preparing, year by year, a considerable store of autobiographical material.

Two things we desire to know about a man: what he did, and what he thought. The canons of the Episcopal Church require of every bishop that he shall make a regular and careful record of these two series of personal facts. He must keep, and annually print, an official journal recording all his visitations, his sermons and addresses, his religious services, with dates and places. Thus the biographer of Bishop Potter is able to find out just where the bishop was and in what sort of episcopal act he was engaged on the ninth day of December, 1901, or on the twelfth day of April, 1884. Also a bishop must annually

address his diocesan convention. Such an address will naturally contain his comments upon the progress of events during the past year, both in his own diocese and in the church at large, together with a discussion of his plans and policies. It will inform the reader as to the state of his mind in such and such a year, in the midst of the problems of that time. These addresses are annually printed, and bound up with the minutes of the diocesan convention.

I have made use of these materials. And since the addresses are not easily accessible to the general reader I have quoted from them freely, finding in them a revelation of Bishop Potter's interests and purposes, and of his attitude toward the changing contemporary situation. They were preceded by the yearbooks which he published while he was at Grace Church, each of which he prefaced with an address to the parish; he told them what had been done during the year, and what he desired of them in the year to come. And they were accompanied by the dozen volumes which Bishop Potter wrote; two accounts of foreign travel, the others mostly sermons and lectures. Reticent as he was in conversation, even with his intimates, he had, like some other reticent men, a freedom of self-disclosure in public speech. There he spoke, as he rarely spoke in private. Into these utterances entered his faith, his devotion, his affection, his aspiration.

It is possible, therefore, that one who follows him closely along the way of these frank statements may know him better than some of his close friends, certainly better than any of his ordinary acquaintances.

I am in debt to the family of Bishop Potter, who have greatly assisted me to fulfil their wish that I should write his life; and to many correspondents, some of them named in these pages; but my chief gratitude is due to the help of the Rev. Dr. George F. Nelson, and still more to the memory of the Rev. Laurence Henry Schwab. Canon Schwab was to have written this book. He had prepared

himself to undertake it by assembling, sifting and arranging many materials. He was qualified for the work by his excellent literary gifts, and by an understanding of Bishop Potter, the fruit of strong affection; he knew him well. He was about to begin to write when a fatal illness stopped him. His painstaking labors have made my task easy. I have had occasion to remember him with thankful appreciation a thousand times during the making of this book.

In calling Dr. Potter the seventh bishop of New York, I have relied upon an examination of the matter which was made, at the request of Bishop Greer, by the Rev. Dr. Seabury of the General Theological Seminary. The order is confused by the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk. During that period of discipline the diocese was governed by two provisional bishops: first, by Dr. Wainwright, who served for about a year, and died in the lifetime of the suspended bishop; second, by Dr. Horatio Potter, who long outlived him. As a matter of actual diocesan administration, the bishops of New York were Provoost, Moore, Hobart, Onderdonk, Wainwright, Horatio Potter; Henry Codman Potter was the seventh.

As these words are written, the Chapel of St. James, in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, is being prepared as a memorial of him who made the Cathedral possible and actual. On the tomb, which is surmounted by a recumbent statue of the Bishop, are inscribed the words "I saw the holy city coming down from God, out of heaven." It is the vision toward whose realization he directed the energy of his life.

GEORGE HODGES.

St. Barnabas' Day, 1915.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Ancestry: Boyhood. 1834–1845	1
II.	Preparation for the Ministry. 1845–1857	19
III.	In a Country Parish. 1857–1859	34
IV.	A War-Time Rectorship. 1859–1866	42
V.	An Assistant Minister on the Greene Foundation. 1866–1868	58
VI.	The Organization of a Working Parish. 1868–1873	68
VII.	The Administration of a Down-Town Church. 1873–1878	86
VIII.	The Last Five Years at Grace. 1878–1883	108
IX.	The Beginning of the Episcopate. 1883–1884	123
X.	The Pigeonholing of Heresy. 1884	135
XI.	The Order of the Holy Cross. 1884–1885	146
XII.	The Case of Mr. Ritchie. 1885	166
XIII.	The Advent Mission. 1885	180
XIV.	The Cathedral Idea. 1887	195
XV.	The Business of a Bishop. 1887–1889	208
XVI.	At the Washington Centennial. 1889	224
XVII.	Ideals and Principles. 1889–1891	239
XVIII.	Differences of Opinion. 1891–1895	256
XIX.	A Sojourn in Stanton Street. 1895	273
XX.	Humani Nihil Alienum. 1895–1898	286
XXI.	The Ordination of Dr. Briggs. 1899	302
XXII.	Where West is East. 1899–1900	313
XXIII.	To Mayor Van Wyck. 1900	326
XXIV.	Completing Twenty Years. 1900–1903	339
XXV.	The People's Bishop. 1904–1907	358
XXVI.	The Finished Course. 1908	375
INDEX		383

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

HENRY CODMAN POTTER *Frontispiece*
1903.

PAGE

ALONZO POTTER 50
Bishop of Pennsylvania, 1845–1865.

MRS. ALONZO POTTER 104
(Sarah Maria Nott).

HENRY CODMAN POTTER 154
About 1854.

BISHOP ALONZO POTTER AND HIS CHILDREN 200

HENRY CODMAN POTTER 250
1866–1868.

HENRY CODMAN POTTER 306
About 1890.

A BOARD OF ARBITRATION 362

HENRY CODMAN POTTER

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY: BOYHOOD

1834–1845

THERE is a legend to the effect that Alonzo Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Horatio Potter, afterwards Bishop of New York, got their start in life by the accident of a horse casting a shoe.

One day, early in the nineteenth century, Dr. Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College, was driving along a country road in Dutchess County, New York, inquiring for a blacksmith. A passing neighbor suggested that farmer Potter had a man on his place who could shoe a horse, and Dr. Nott drove on this errand into Joseph Potter's farm. While the horse was being shod, the president noticed two little lads who stood by, looking on. "What are you going to do," he said, "with these fine sons of yours?" The farmer answered, "I expect to make them farmers, like myself." "Let me have them," said the president; "send them to Union College."

The actual fact, however, — as is not infrequently the case with facts, — was somewhat less dramatic. Joseph Potter had been elected to represent his district in the New York Assembly. In the course of his second term, which was in 1814, Dr. Nott, being in Albany, spent an evening in Mr. Potter's room. There he saw a composition written by Alonzo in the course of his studies at Master Barnes's academy in Poughkeepsie. The president found this essay full of promise. "I must have that boy," he said.

In the autumn of that year Alonzo Potter entered Union College. In 1818, he was graduated with the highest honors. In 1823, he married Sarah Maria Nott, the president's daughter. Their fifth son was Henry Codman Potter.

The Potters came from England in the Puritan Exodus. "My ancestors," wrote Henry Potter to a friend, "came from Coventry in England, where Thomas Potter, whose arms you will find impaled with those of the Diocese of New York on this letter, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and where the said Thomas, who was Mayor of Coventry, and a dyer and wool-stapler, made an excellent blue dye; whence came the proverb, 'True as Coventry blue,' a motto of which we are very proud."

The Rev. Nathaniel Ward, minister at Ipswich, is quoted in Edward Winslow's "Hypocrasie Unmasked" [1] as a fellow-passenger with Robert Potter, in 1634. He was much impressed by his "honesty and godliness," which gained his "good opinion and affection." Potter was made a freeman of Massachusetts Plantations on September 3d, of that year. After a brief stay at Lynn, he settled in Roxbury and became a member of the First Church, of which Thomas Welde was the pastor and John Eliot the teacher. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was at that time disturbing the minds of the conservative with her doctrine of the Inward Light. Potter was one of those who accepted her opinions, shared in her condemnation, and followed her into exile.

"His sins," said Eliot, "were first in the time of Mrs. Hutchinson, when divers of our church were seduced to familism and schism; he was of their side and company, and so filled with them that he departed to the Island rather than would forsake them, and, being there, he refused to hear the church who had lovingly sent after him."

The familism of which Robert Potter was found guilty was an assertion that love, not faith, is the most important part of the Christian religion. It was a protest against the

[1] There is a copy of this book in the John Carter Brown Library, at Brown University.

prevailing emphasis on theological orthodoxy. The Inward Light, to which Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers gave heed rather than to creeds or sermons, was a direct revelation to the individual soul. It made the church unnecessary. The believer entered immediately into the divine presence, and learned divine truth without the assistance of the clergy. Under the conditions of the colony of Massachusetts, endeavoring to maintain a theocracy, wherein God should rule by the word of His ministers, these were divisive and rebellious doctrines.

Potter departed, therefore, to Rhode Island. There he settled, with other friends of Mrs. Hutchinson, at Portsmouth; where in 1639 his name was one of twenty-nine signatures to a document which bound the signers into a civil body politic under the rule of King Charles. There he became acquainted with Samuel Gorton, who was described by Potter's old friend Ward as "a man whose spirit is stark drunk with blasphemies and insolences, a corrupter of the truth, and a disturber of the peace wherever he comes." Potter found in Gorton a congenial spirit. Gorton was publicly whipped twice for reviling ministers and magistrates. Potter, in 1642, was disfranchised, with others, and it was ordered that if he should appear again in those parts, the constable, "calling to himself sufficient aid," should carry him before the magistrate.

Thereupon Potter and Gorton, with several like-minded persons, purchased a tract of country which was then called Shawomet, but which Gorton afterwards named Warwick in honor of the earl who presently protected him in his troubles. The troubles continued. The Indians, who had sold their land for a hundred and forty-four fathoms of wampum, complained to the General Court at Boston that they had been unjustly and injuriously treated. The details of the complaint have not remained in the record, but the matter was taken seriously, and the proprietors of Shawomet were bidden to appear and answer to the charges before the General Court. Refusing to obey this summons, claiming that they were not

within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, soldiers were sent down from Boston who besieged them in their garrison-house, and compelled them to surrender. The men were brought to Boston, while their wives and children betook themselves to the woods. Under the stress of this hardship three of the women died. One of them was Isabella, wife of Robert Potter. The indictment was now changed, the injured Indians falling into the background, and the prisoners being accused of "blasphemous errors which they must repent of." They were put in irons, and exhibited at Mr. John Cotton's Thursday Lecture. They were then confined in several towns, Potter being sent to Rowley.

During Robert Potter's imprisonment, Nathaniel Ward visited him, and found him "shedding many tears." Ward advised him to acknowledge his transgressions, citing John Cotton's example, who had made public confession upon a solemn fast day "that in the time when errors were so stirring, God leaving him for a time, he fell into a spiritual slumber; and had it not been for the watchfulness of his brethren, the elders, he might have slept on; and blessed God very cordially for awaking him, and was thankful to his brethren for their watchfulness over him." But Robert Potter was not persuaded.

Thereupon the First Church in Roxbury excommunicated him, partly for his old sins, but also "for that he was now tossed with other winds of new doctrine, forsaking the Island and joining with Gorton, and that not only in his heresies but also in his heretical, blasphemous, and retch'ful writings, and publicly owned them in court, and made himself guilty of all these wicked ways."

Gorton on his release went to England, where he secured the reënstatement of himself and his associates in Shawomet. Robert Potter appears in the Rhode Island Colonial Records as "Assistant" for the town of Warwick in 1648, and "Commissioner" in 1652. Thus he ended his life a peaceable citizen, dying in 1655.

John Potter,[1] son of Robert, married Ruth Fisher, and, of their nine children, their son John was born in 1669 at Warwick.

But when the second John married Jane Burlingame, their son John, in 1695, was born in Cranston, to which place the family had removed.

The third John married Phebe Green, and John and Phebe became Quaker preachers.

This was a natural following of the example set by their sturdy, non-conforming progenitor. The Quakers of Rhode Island were the heirs of Anne Hutchinson, with her doctrine of the Inward Light, and of Samuel Gorton, of whom it was said that he had "a great contempt for the regular clergy and for all outward forms of religion, holding that the true believer partook of the perfection of God."

In this Quaker household at Cranston grew up a wild young grandson, whose parents named him Israel; if they had foreseen his career they might have called him Esau. Israel Potter ran away from home at the age of eighteen, paddled a canoe up the Connecticut from Springfield to Lebanon, N. H., worked now as farm hand, then as surveyor's helper, then as trapper, selling his furs in Canada. He set out in a sloop for the West Indies, and the ship was burned to the water's edge; he was picked up from a leaky longboat by a passing vessel. He then entered on board a whaler, in which he made two voyages. Returning, he was just in time for the battle of Bunker Hill, where he received two musket-ball wounds, "one," he says, "in my hip, the other near the ankle of my left leg." After six weeks, rejoining his regiment, he was given duty on the brigantine *Washington*, which was guarding Boston harbor. An English ship captured the vessel and carried all the crew to England. In quarantine, at Portsmouth, Potter caught the smallpox. Recovering, and being put in the hulks at Spithead, he escaped, and ran away. Arrested as a prisoner of war, he

[1] "History and Genealogies of the Potter Family in America." By Charles Edward Potter. 1888. (Part 10.)

again escaped while his guards were overcome with drink. He changed his sailor garb for the "Church suit" of a farmer and got a job as gardener at Kew, where one day he had a conversation with King George. Americans in London sent him to Paris on a message to Franklin, carrying a letter in a false heel.

Then, the wars being for the moment over, and hard times coming on, there being more men than jobs, Israel fell into such poverty that he took to the meagre trade of bottoming chairs, and wandered up and down the London streets crying, "Old chairs to mend!" And so life went for many a year. He married in despite of poverty, and had ten children, nine of whom died. At last his wife died, practically of starvation. Four months he was in prison for debt. His son swept crossings. Then the American consul got passage for him and his son, and in 1823 he returned to Boston, whence he had been carried in 1775. He went to his old home, but nobody remembered him; even the house had been burned to the ground. He applied for a pension, but the application was refused. In Providence, in 1824, he dictated the story of his life, and the cheap little gray-paged book thus made was sold by peddlers in the streets. One or two copies have survived.[1] A rude woodcut which makes the frontispiece shows Israel Potter and his son crying, "Old chairs to mend!" and a friendly woman giving them a job.

Thomas Potter, one of eleven children of John and Phebe, born in 1735, married Esther Sheldon.

Their son Joseph, one of ten children, born in 1757, the family being still in Cranston, married Anna Knight. They removed from Cranston to Beekman, N. Y., now called La Grange, in 1792.

That the spirit of Robert Potter continued in strength through these generations appears in the person of Anthony Potter, a Cranston cousin of Joseph. He was a deacon in

[1] One copy is in the New York Public Library, another in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence.

the Six-Principle Baptist Church of the village, and a soldier in the war of the Revolution. At the beginning of the war, on a Sunday morning, he drove the whole congregation out of the meeting-house, locked the door, and went away with the key in his pocket, because they persisted in praying for the king.

Joseph Potter is described as "a man of tall, erect person, of grave and taciturn habits, of good understanding, and of honorable repute in his neighborhood." Of Anna his wife it is said that she was "a woman of remarkable character and powers, having a bright and ready wit, a prompt and accurate judgment, and a strong and well-directed will." They brought with them to their farm in the wilds of Dutchess County their Quaker religion, and a few books. Thus they were distinguished from their neighbors. They showed their loyalty to their religion by naming their first daughter Philadelphia, and their first son Paraclete. They had seven other children. Alonzo was born in 1800, Horatio in 1802. It is significant that Joseph Potter was sent to the legislature in 1798, having so soon commended himself to the people among whom he settled; and that Paraclete Potter became owner and editor of the Poughkeepsie *Whig*. This was a public-spirited family, whose horizon was by no means bounded by the fences of their farm.

Meanwhile, the Notts[1] had come to this country in 1640, and had settled in the Connecticut valley, at Wethersfield. Henry Potter was right when he called himself "an unadulterated Yankee, of the purest blood." His ancestors, on his mother's side as well as on his father's, were of New England Puritan stock. They were as patriotic as they were religious. Hannah Nott, a daughter of the first settler, married John Hale, and was the grandmother of Nathan Hale. Abraham Nott, a grandson of the first settlers, was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1726, and became a Congregational minister. He was a

[1] "Memories of Dr. Nott." By Van Santvoord and Lewis. 1876.

stalwart person, who had distinguished himself among the Yale athletes of his time by lifting a barrel of cider above his head and drinking out of the bung-hole. His son, Stephen, kept a store in Saybrook; but his house was burned in 1759, and he was plundered by highwaymen in 1760, and these misfortunes made him poor. He removed to Ashford, thirty miles from Hartford, where he bought a forlorn farm.

Under these discouraging conditions Eliphalet Nott was born in 1773. The district school was five miles away; so he learned at home, his mother being his teacher. They read the Bible together. When the mother, in failing health, was unable to go to church, the little boy took notes of the sermon for her benefit. "The light of my young life went out," he said, "when my mother died." An older brother, pastor of a Congregational church at Franklin, Connecticut, helped him forward with his studies. At the age of twenty he was the teacher of the Franklin school. Removing thence to the school at Plainfield, he became engaged to the pastor's daughter, Sarah Maria Benedict, a young lady of "personal beauty, intelligence and pleasing address." By this time his education was so far advanced that the faculty of Brown University, then called Rhode Island College, certified that he had all the learning that was required for a bachelor's degree.

Meanwhile, he had been studying theology, and in 1796 was licensed to preach. He found his first opportunity in Cherry Valley, New York. In 1798, he was ordained by the presbytery, and installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany. Thence he was called, in 1804, to the presidency of Union College.

Dr. Nott came to the college with a wide fame as an eloquent preacher, which he had recently increased by a sermon on the death of Alexander Hamilton. Crowded congregations attended his ministry. "President Nott preached in Brattle Street Church," wrote the pastor in his diary. "The fullest audience ever known there, ex-

cept on ordination day." And he added an epigram made upon the occasion by Josiah Quincy :

> " Delight and instruction have people, I wot,
> Who in seeing Nott see, and in hearing, hear Nott."

Mrs. Nott had died in the spring of 1804, after the birth of a daughter to whom was given her mother's name, Sarah Maria. Mrs. Tillotson, a friend of Mrs. Nott, offered to become a guardian mother of the child, and the offer was gratefully accepted. Under the shadow of this sorrow the new president undertook his duties.

Union College at the time of Dr. Nott's accession was trying a kind of monastic experiment. "Our students," wrote the president to his brother, "are to be entirely separated from the great world. The president is to lodge in the college, and board in common, with his family, as are all the other members of the faculty. Each class belongs to the family of the officer who instructs them; and in our dining hall is preserved all the decorum, ceremony and politeness of refined domestic life. Not the least disorder is allowed in or about the edifice. From prayers, from church, from recitation, such a thing as absence is unknown. The week is completely filled with collegiate, the Sabbath with religious, exercises. On the latter day no student ever goes from the yard except to church, and even then he walks with his professor in procession, sits with him, and with him returns. Perhaps no college has ever furnished such complete security to the manners and morals of youth, or a course more likely to ensure a thorough education."

This plan of life was afterwards modified in deference to the human nature of youth, but it imparted a paternal quality to the whole administration of Dr. Nott. He presently took all the college discipline into his own hands, and devoted himself with pastoral patience and much success to the work of ministering to such students as were in need of restraint or guidance. He and his family lived

in the college. When Sarah Maria at the age of three was brought back to her father's house by reason of his second marriage, she grew up in this atmosphere. The college pervaded the whole domestic life. Books, studies and students were dominant facts. The child was ten years old when Alonzo Potter entered the freshman class, and fourteen when he was graduated.

Sheldon Potter, an older brother of Alonzo, was a bookseller in Philadelphia. To him the young man went when he had completed his college course. There he became interested in the Episcopal Church, and was confirmed by Bishop White. He decided to enter the ministry, and began the studies which should prepare him for that work. In the midst of this occupation, he was recalled to Union College as a tutor, and in 1821 was made professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. He continued his theological reading, meanwhile publishing a treatise on logarithms, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1824. In the same year, he married Sarah Maria Nott.

In 1826, the young professor was called from his academic tasks to the rectorship of St. Paul's Church in Boston; his name having been brought to the attention of the vestry by Francis Wayland, a young Baptist parson of the neighborhood, afterwards president of Brown University. Wayland and Potter had been classmates at Union.

The new rector found Boston engaged in the violent exercise of controversy. Dr. Beecher and Dr. Channing were maintaining the opposite sides of the contention between the Trinitarians and the Unitarians. Mr. Potter's quiet ministrations made St. Paul's a haven of peace for persons weary of doctrinal discussion. Strangers were attracted by the devout order of the service. "There was always a fine ecclesiastical odor breathing from St. Paul's," wrote one of them, a Unitarian. "My Puritan nose snuffed it with the gusto of an unlawful indulgence."

This tranquillity was presently interrupted by dissension within the Episcopal Church itself. The everlasting dis-

agreement between the priest and the prophet, which has its place in all religions, and in no communion is quite so evident, frank and continuous as in this, divided the brethren. They debated on the one side and on the other in the diocesan convention. Mr. Potter was looked to for leadership. It was a situation for which he had a temperamental dislike. He had not inherited that impulse to go to the help of the Lord, which had made his ancestor Robert a conscientious disturber of the ecclesiastical peace. At last, after a rectorship of five years, which his people long remembered with gratitude, he took advantage of a temporary impairment of his health, and resigned.

He returned, in 1831, to Schenectady and to Union College. He was made professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Political Economy. He was also expected to conduct recitations "in logic, in rhetoric, in mathematics, geometry, technology, trigonometry, or in Greek and Latin classics, as occasion might require."

In 1834, on the 25th of May, was born his fifth child, and was baptized in St. George's Church, April 14, 1835, with the name of Henry Codman, a mark of affection for Henry Codman of Boston.

Henry Codman Potter spent the first eleven years of his life in Schenectady. He was three years old when his parents removed from lower Union Street in the town, to North House, South College. He was brought up amidst surroundings wherein the pursuit of knowledge seemed a normal part of life; books surrounded him on every side; the community in which he lived was mainly composed of exuberant youth.

Union College was pleasantly situated in the suburbs. The new buildings, North College and South College, begun in 1812, had been completed in 1820. The place was in the green country, with a background of western hills across the fair valley of the Mohawk.

Speaking long after of the changes which showed the progress of the growing college, Henry Potter dwelt with

the pleasure of a pleasant memory upon the unchangeable surroundings. "No differences," he said, "can alter the identity of that wide outlook, so rare and beautiful in the charm of its expanse, in the picturesqueness and variety of its lovely landscape. Nature, in its steadfast and immutable characteristics, still remains: the silver thread of the winding Mohawk; the break in the distant hills where, long ago, the sun sank to rest, just as it sets to-day; the corn standing so thick in the valley that, in the words of the psalmist, it seems to 'laugh and sing.'"

The first decade of Dr. Nott's presidency had multiplied by five the forty students who were in the college when he came. In 1820, the number exceeded three hundred. An historian of the college recalls with pride that in 1825 it had "passed Harvard and Yale in the number of its students, and, with the exception of a few intervening years, held for a quarter of a century the honor of being the largest college in the United States."

In his "Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops," Henry Potter recalled his attendance as a child upon the services of the parish church, of which John Williams, afterwards Bishop of Connecticut, was then the rector. "Mr. Williams," he said, "ministered to a congregation which included a row of small boys of which I was one. I blush to say," he added, "that I cannot recall his preaching." He remembered more distinctly the instructions of the Rev. William Henry Walter. In his "Thirty Years Reviewed," recalling past rectors of St. John's, Troy, he spoke appreciatively of Mr. Walter. "Those among you who knew him, know his earnest, prayerful spirit, the sweet attractiveness of his Christian character, and especially his rare persuasiveness as a minister to children. He had great and unusual gifts for interesting and instructing the young, and almost the most striking feature of his ministry was his Sunday afternoon catechisms. It was my own privilege, then myself a child, to be one of those little ones under his ministry, when he was rector

of St. George's, Schenectady. I shall never forget the tenderness of his manner, and the deeply devotional and impressive character of all his public ministrations."

The "row of small boys" was made up of Henry Potter and his brothers, Clarkson Nott (*b.* 1825), Howard (*b.* 1826), Robert Brown (*b.* 1829), Edward Tuckerman (*b.* 1831), and Eliphalet Nott (*b.* 1837). By Dr. Potter's second marriage, in 1840, there were three sons: James Neilson (*b.* 1841), William Appleton (*b.* 1842), and Frank Hunter (*b.* 1851), who was born after the removal of the family from Schenectady. There was one sister, Maria (*b.* 1839), afterwards Mrs. Launt Thompson. Eliphalet Potter, at the Centennial Anniversary of Union College, recalled the group of boys looking down over the college parapet upon the town of Schenectady, — "Dorp," they called it, using the language of the first Dutch settlers.

In 1839, when Henry Potter was five years old, his mother died. "There was that about her," said his father, "which left its perfume in any circle long after she had retired, which impressed beholders with the feeling that she belonged to a higher sphere. . . . With a strong taste for letters, and a delicate relish for beauty and wit, she gave herself, seemingly without a pang, to her household, to her friends, and to any one whom she could make more happy. . . . In offices of tenderness and of assiduous kindness to those she loved, or to whom she owed any duty, in the round of little duties that every day presents if we seek for them, in constant efforts to unite her own intellectual improvement with the welfare of others, she so filled up every hour of time that life became one scene of self-forgetting activities, by which her own nature was refined and exalted, while she became a centre of delight to all who knew her."

The motherless children were taken under the wise care of Sarah Benedict, a cousin of Mrs. Potter. In 1840, Dr. Potter and Miss Benedict were married.

Of the lady who thus became Henry Potter's foster

mother, her husband wrote after her death: "Her practical capacity was most varied and prompt; her flow of spirits exuberant and even; her courtesy and kindness unfailing; and her judgment in all departments of life, and in letters and religion, just and vigorous. With this she joined a passionate love for flowers and all natural beauty, and great susceptibility to kindness. Like other strong natures, her convictions were profound, and her mode of expressing them, when there was meanness or criminality, was sometimes vehement. But the fervor of her heart was so tempered by prudence and charity, and her mastery over her tongue so complete, that she rarely offended, and often kindled in slower or duller natures congenial fire."

Family recollections of Henry Potter's boyhood recall the brilliant coloring of his face and the gleams of fun and mischief which played upon it. Henry and Eliphalet improvised surplices out of sheets, after the common fashion of the sons of the clergy, and conducted attic services with the younger children for congregation, and were ignominiously ejected from the chancel, like the Cavalier priests at the hands of the Roundheads, by Humphreys the housekeeper.

Alonzo Potter was made Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1845, and the family moved to Philadelphia. There at the age of twelve or thirteen Henry suddenly developed a dislike for Latin declensions, and a habit of swearing, phenomena which were perhaps related. At that time, the Rev. Robert Traill Spence Lowell, an older brother of James Russell Lowell, was tutoring in Latin. Henry Potter was sent into the country to spend two months with Mr. Lowell, in order that he might be helped over these hard places, mental and moral. The mornings were spent with the Latin grammar; in the afternoons, after the lessons had been duly recited, the lad was free to play.

"Henry," the teacher would say as he dismissed him to his sports, "swearing is very wrong. Your father has sent you here that you may be broken of it. Remember, do not swear. If you do, I shall be obliged to flog you."

After prayers at night, the teacher would say, "Henry, tell me the truth. Did you swear to-day?"

Henry, having considered during the day that the satisfaction of using strong language was worth a whipping, would speak up manfully and face the consequences. "Yes, sir, I swore." And the promised punishment would follow.

Such a pedagogic method is of course open to the criticism that it tempts the offender into the way of lying. But the teacher knew the boy. After this discipline he returned to his home at the end of the summer with plenty of Latin and no profanity.

In Philadelphia a favorite amusement for the Potter boys was to mount the roof of the Episcopal residence to the ridge pole and thence slide to the gutter. This had gone on for several weeks without the knowledge of the family, when one day the bishop, absorbed in the composition of his annual episcopal address, was startled by the irruption of a dishevelled lady who informed him that her sister lay dangerously ill in the house opposite, and that she had left her in screaming hysterics because she had seen the boys in this perilous position. She declared that if Bishop Potter did not make his boys come off the roof at once, her sister would die!

Another aspect of the domestic life is given by Henry Potter himself in a letter to Dr. Howe, the biographer of his father.[1]

"From the year 1845 to the year 1858 — nearly all of them the years of my minority — (my father) was absent from home during a large part of the year, and when he returned to it was confronted by a mass of correspondence and an accumulation of diocesan duties which gave him scarce time to meet his household at the family board. Yet even then he managed to be a good deal in the company of his family, and I can remember that he usually brought his work in the evenings from his own study to

[1] "Memoirs of the Life and Services of Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D." By M. A. De Wolfe Howe. Philadelphia. 1871.

the large table in the dining room, around which three or four boys were generally buzzing over their more difficult lessons for the morrow. Amid these distractions he seemed to have no difficulty in abstracting himself, and I can very vividly remember the wonder with which, while my eyes were seemingly intent upon my book, I used to listen to the ceaseless scratching of his pen as for hour after hour he wrote on, without a pause for a word, or an instant's hesitation over the arrangement of a sentence. It was our custom on these occasions to interrupt him without hesitation; and no question of ours, whether it related to a problem in mathematics or to the construction of a line in a Greek play, was ever kept waiting for an answer.

"My father always encouraged his children to talk freely, and notwithstanding that awe of him which, I thank God, I never outgrew, and which was born of our mingled love and reverence for the rare and majestic traits of his character, we were wont to discuss all sorts of questions in the family in his presence with much warmth and without reserve. He rarely sided strongly with either party in these discussions, seeming to prefer that those who were engaged in them should draw on their own stores, and put their faculties to fullest use; but if a younger child was being overborne by an older one, and he saw an eagerness for victory which was neither quite courteous nor generous, he was wont to interfere with a few words on behalf of the weaker side, which, though they were uttered rather suggestively than oracularly, would in a moment put a new face upon the whole question. He never talked down to his children, and their interest was often aroused in regard to matters concerning which they had been comparatively indifferent, simply because he seemed to take it for granted that they would share his own interest in them. During his college life as professor at Schenectady, it was his custom to read aloud to the assembled household for an hour or more after the late dinner at the close of the day. These readings, as I re-

member them, were generally from Shakespeare, and were interspersed here and there with brief comments which showed how keen was his enjoyment of, and how profound his insight into, the works of the great dramatist. . . .

"The discipline of my father's household was firm and decided, and yet, withal, singularly tender and forbearing. It had its penalties, which were not to be evaded, and which he did not shrink from administering with his own hand. But they were matters of last resort, and I doubt whether any one of his children, even when submitting to them, ever seriously questioned that they were eminently deserved. On the other hand, his praise was without stint when he thought it had been fairly earned, and his 'nobly done, my son,' after some boyish effort crowned with an unwonted measure of success, will ring in my ears as long as I live.

"My father's somewhat reserved habit of speech, especially in regard to matters of religion, led him to say less, perhaps, to his children on that subject than some more impulsive men would have done. But what he did not say by word of mouth he said, with preëminent tenderness and directness, with his pen; and always in his conduct of the family devotion he seemed intuitively to divine the weaknesses, the temptations, the childish needs and faults and longings that waited to be remembered at the mercy seat. His prayers, eminently rich in their flavor of the prayers of the church, so braided together the several petitions of the various collects and occasional services as to be a very mosaic of simple and scriptural petitions. They were always fresh, heartfelt and comprehensive, yet never extravagant, sentimental, sensational or (as is too often the case) irreverently familiar. When he did converse with one of his children on religious matters, nothing was more touching than the way in which he put himself upon a level with the most timid beginner in the Christian life, and cheered and helped him by a sympathy which seemed to enter completely into every feeling of

discouragement or weakness which was then disclosed to him.

"My father had been early thrown on his own resources, and he recognized very clearly the value of a training which educated the young to self-reliance and self-help. His children were given to understand that their education was their capital for the business of life, and that when they reached their majority they must assume the responsibilities of independent manhood along with its privileges. He had a hearty scorn for a dainty sybaritism, and if he saw any symptoms of it in his children he was wont to express his opinion of it without much reserve. He was so intensely in earnest himself that he had scant sympathy for loungers, idlers or the mere social ornaments of a community, and in his own household this contempt lighted with a withering effect upon any and every youthful tendency in that direction.

"Bishop Potter was sometimes called a cold man, and that by those who were very well aware of the absorbing personal devotion with which multitudes of people loved him. Under such circumstances such a judgment was curiously unreflecting or unintelligent. His heart was as large as his brain, and his affections grew increasingly deep and tender as the years went on. As his children, grown to manhood, passed out from under the shelter of his paternal roof, they knew that they carried with them his ceaseless and anxious affection; and when they came back again from time to time to the domestic fireside, they found there a loving warmth of welcome, an ever-mellowing benignity of aspect, a large-hearted affectionateness of interest, which will live a fragrant memory forever."

CHAPTER II

PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY

1845–1857

For the discussions in which Bishop Alonzo Potter encouraged his sons, the current events provided abundant material. Between 1845, when Henry was brought to Philadelphia at the age of eleven, and 1857, when he was ordained and began his ministry, the years were filled with memorable and significant occurrences. To live in such a time, and in a family where the contemporary history was followed with eager interest, was an educational discipline of a high order.

In 1848, almost every European nation was in peril of revolution. Louis Philippe was driven out of Paris, the Emperor Ferdinand fled from Vienna, the soldiers of Austria were forced to leave Milan, in Berlin the people were against the crown, in London the Chartists were assembling a huge procession to carry their Bill of Rights to Parliament. In 1852, Louis Napoleon became Emperor of the French. In 1853, the Emperor of the French, on behalf of the Latin Church, and the Czar of Russia, on behalf of the Greek Church, entered into a contention concerning the custody of the holy places of Jerusalem. On the one side and on the other they made opposing and irreconcilable demands upon the ruler of the city, the Sultan of Turkey. The Turks and the Russians fell to fighting, France and England took the Turkish side, and the Crimean War ensued. It lasted until 1856. In 1857, the Sepoys rebelled, and the Indian Mutiny followed.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the debate about slavery was bringing the nation nearer and nearer to the

Civil War. The enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 sent slave owners, whip in hand, into northern States to recover their property. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, permitting these new territories to choose by popular vote whether they would be free soil or not, and thus defying the Missouri Compromise, which had definitely limited the area of slavery, added fuel to the increasing flames. In 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott Decision, announced that no slave, nor descendant of a slave, could be a citizen of the United States or have any standing in the federal courts. These matters were discussed with serious interest in Philadelphia, where already the American Anti-Slavery Society had been organized, and where in 1856 the Republican party held its first national convention. In the Virginia Seminary, as we shall presently see, Henry Potter heard the question of slavery debated between young men of the north and young men of the south, and took part in the debates.

Not only the political but the ecclesiastical world was perturbed. It was in 1845 that Newman was formally received into the Roman Catholic Church, and the Tractarian Controversy was at flood tide. The church was divided into contending parties, "Low" and "High." Each was seriously afraid of the influence of the other, and each believed with equal gravity that its opponents were disloyal to the spirit of the church. In this dissension Bishop Potter maintained a position, then somewhat rare, but now happily common, in which he held that both of these interpretations of religion have their rightful place in the church. In the face of the current partisanship, he was a comprehensive churchman. His generous sympathies extended in both directions. He desired to see the growth of a churchmanship which should be at the same time catholic and evangelical, "combining honest, earnest loyalty to the peculiarities of our communion with a loyalty still more earnest to the peculiarities of the gospel."

In the progress of these domestic discussions, thus tend-

ing in various ways to impart to the mind of a young man a lively interest in the affairs of the world, and an enthusiasm for liberty, social and ecclesiastical, Henry Potter was entering into manhood.

One of the first acts of his father, on becoming Bishop of Pennsylvania, had been to revive the Episcopal Academy. This school had been founded half a century before in the days of Bishop White, but in 1846 it had long been without either students or teachers or building. Bishop Potter, in the spring of that year, caused it to be reopened, and secured as master the Rev. Dr. George Emlen Hare. Dr. Hare had been a temporary professor in the University of Pennsylvania. His learning and ability were recognized in 1862 by his appointment as dean and professor of Biblical Exegesis in the divinity school then established in Philadelphia; and in 1870 by his selection by the Convocation of Canterbury to assist in the preparation of the Revised Version of the Bible. It is said of him, in the "Life and Labors of Bishop Hare," his son, that "from the day of his ordination the Scriptures in their original texts had never been half a day out of his hands." He is described as "a typical figure of the scholar, formal, remote, known of those who knew him as demanding of himself the same exacting standard of industry and integrity that he demanded of his pupils." Dr. J. Andrews Harris remembers Henry Potter as a bright lad in this school, standing well in his classes, and of a merry disposition.

The Bishop's son appeared at first to have no desire to follow in his father's steps. He had no share in the instruction which Dr. Hare was giving at the Academy an hour daily, for five days in the week, in Greek and Hebrew, to candidates for the ministry. There is no reference in the family records to any intention to send Henry to Union College. His brother Clarkson had been graduated there in 1842, Howard in 1846, Edward in 1853; his younger brother Eliphalet entered Union in

the year in which Henry was ordained deacon. Henry went into business. In his nineteenth year he was in the employ of the wholesale dry-goods house of Ludwig, Kweeder & Co. in North Third Street.

In that year, however, — in August, 1854, — he entered into an experience which was then expected as a stage in the spiritual progress of every normal Christian — he was converted.

His father wrote: "I have been delighted beyond measure to hear from your mother that your heart seems to have been touched by God's Spirit with true contrition, and that you have gone for refuge to the Blood that cleanseth from all sin. May it be so indeed, and may you the rest of your days be a true soldier of the cross, and deem it your highest glory to live for Him who hath loved you with such wonderful love! I have been of late more than ever grieved at the absence from my children of any deep interest in the welfare of their souls, and I cannot but fondly hope that this may be the beginning of a better and brighter era with them all."

Henry Potter wrote a letter upon this occasion to his sister and to each of his brothers. "I remember receiving mine," says Mrs. Thompson, "and being a little frightened, as children are too apt to be, I think, by any direct appeal in regard to religion. I remember its solemn, affectionate tone."

To the same period belongs an anecdote which was much repeated and appreciated in the family to the effect that "while he was preparing to go to the Seminary there was a discussion one day among the elders — uncles and aunts — as to whether he would hold fast or slip back to the life of the world, and it was brought to an end by one of the old ladies who said: 'No, I am convinced that he will stand fast, and that his religion is not the mood of a moment. There is a radical change in him. He used to be very careless, and not mind how much trouble he gave to the servants. Now, he puts everything away

carefully, and does not throw his boots out at night, but puts them very neatly side by side.'"

The coincidence of a new habit of neatness with a new spirit of religion is not uncommon in the experience of youth. It is frequently connected with the beginning of a new friendship. The new friends who came at this time into Henry Potter's life lived at Spring Grove, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, fifty miles from Philadelphia.

Mrs. Clara Sidney (Boyd) Jacobs, widow of Samuel Jacobs, had inherited from her husband an iron mine and a forge. Cyrus Jacobs, her husband's father, had been a great iron master in his day. The social conditions at Spring Grove were of the patriarchal order. The houses of the workmen, sheltering some fifty families, were built around the forge; the great house "of the wide-porched, stone and stucco, pine-shaded type, with pillars, broad hall, box-bordered rose gardens, and solid comfort," overlooked a fair valley through which flowed a little river. Mrs. Jacobs was not only the proprietor and general manager, but, on occasion, the teacher, the doctor and the minister of the community. She instructed the children, advised their parents, dispensed medicines for their simple ailments, and in a building detached from the main house, and called the "office," she read the family prayers and had a Sunday School. Every Episcopal parson who passed by that way stopped to enjoy the gracious hospitality of Mrs. Jacobs. She was good as she was capable, pious, devout, living as naturally in the atmosphere of religion as in the pure air of the surrounding woods.

The Bishop of Pennsylvania and his family were welcome guests at Spring Grove. The boys, who used to sit on the steps of their father's house reviling Spruce street and comparing Philadelphia very unfavorably with Schenectady, spent weeks of their summer holidays in the delightful freedom of the big estate. To Eliza Rogers Jacobs (*b.* 1832) Henry Potter became engaged to be married. To the in-

fluence of her mother he attributed the turning of his mind in the direction of religion. His interests had been mostly social. His uncommonly handsome face, and his engaging manners, had made him — as, indeed, he always continued to be — a favorite in society. All the Philadelphia girls — and their brothers also — liked him. He had all the qualifications for successful secularity. He afterwards spoke of himself at this time as a "wayward youth," and as such he probably appeared to his evangelical father, and to his anxious aunts and uncles. Mrs. Jacobs changed his whole life.

This was the "touch of another hand" to which, long after, he referred at the end of a sermon in memory of the Bishop Howe who wrote his father's life, and whose church, while Dr. Howe was the rector of St. Luke's in Philadelphia, he attended as a lad. "A wayward youth," he says, "sitting once in St. Luke's Church in Philadelphia, hears the man who was your first bishop preach a sermon from the text 'Young man, I say unto thee, Arise!' Its impression never left him — the clear, close, faithful message, searching, personal, awakening, starting in him a train of thought and emotion that, touched later by another hand, changed the whole current of his life. It is not violating the most delicate reserve if he recalls that debt to-day, and owns that he has been glad and thankful for the privilege of coming here and laying thus the tribute of his love and gratitude upon your bishop's grave."

The Virginia Theological Seminary, in which Henry Potter now took up his residence, had been founded at Alexandria in 1823, the year after the opening of the General Theological Seminary in New York. The founders had in mind the convenience of students, especially such as lived in the south, for whom a journey to New York in those days of difficult travel seemed impossible. They were also opposed to the idea of a general seminary, feeling that the church would be better served by diocesan training schools. In this opinion Bishop Alonzo Potter shared,

and presently carried it into practical effect by starting a divinity school of his own in Philadelphia. There was no intention to make the Virginia school a recruiting station for the low-church party, but as the years passed the two schools had come to represent the two varieties of churchmanship. Between the two, Bishop Potter chose the Virginia Seminary for his son, though not without misgivings. He feared the narrowing influences of partisan churchmanship.

Thus he wrote to Henry shortly after the beginning of his first term: "I have been wishing to write to you for weeks, but I am so little at home and so incessantly occupied when travelling with my duties and necessary correspondence that no letters are written which are not indispensable. I hear most encouraging reports of your bearing and deportment. May God give you grace to persevere and to be always honest with Him and with yourself. We can so easily deceive ourselves, and the approaches of evil are so insidious and so multiform that 'watch and pray' is the safe motto. At the same time, strive to be a happy and cheerful Christian, for 'we have received not the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption.'

"I have a little concern on two points: First, lest you crowd too many studies on each day, a course dangerous to health of body and health of mind. *Multum*, not *multa* — a few books, a few studies, well digested, at a time, is the true course.

"Second, lest the type of your theology and piety be narrow. A tendency to narrowness, to party views and censorious judgment of those who differ from us, is one of the dangers of our profession, and I have noticed more of it than I could wish among the graduates of ——. There are few things which I would cultivate more assiduously and anxiously than the ability to see and to appreciate good in all classes of men, as far as they have it, and to use charity in all our surmises respecting their motives.

All this I hold to be perfectly consistent with fixed opinions and unwavering loyalty to them."

The Virginia Seminary, which Henry Potter entered in the autumn of 1854, was even more beautiful for situation than it is at present, for not only did it look out over the Potomac toward the spires and towers of Washington in the distance, but it was in the midst of a primeval forest. Phillips Brooks, who entered the school in 1856, found it a "lonely, desolate sort of place." But he was homesick, and was contrasting Alexandria with Boston, and the Seminary with Harvard College. He had arrived some weeks after the beginning of the term, and had been assigned to the only vacant room remaining, in which he found it difficult to stand up straight, under the eaves. "My homely apartment," he wrote, "is in an old building called the Wilderness." "'Tis an awkward thing," he adds, "this living in a garret." Even in this mood of depression and depreciation he says, "There seem to be some fine fellows here. They are very hospitable, and would kill me with kindness if I would stand it." And he particularly mentions "a son of Bishop Potter, who seems to be a splendid fellow; at any rate, he's mighty handsome."

Below Brooks, in his attic room, were Charles A. L. Richards and his brother George A. Strong, who entered in 1855. "As a new student," says Dr. Richards, "a room in the third story at the rear of the main building had been assigned to me which Potter had occupied the year before. He had left a trunk there, which the authorities had removed elsewhere before my arrival. Returning a little later, he came to my door to claim his property, of which I could only say that I knew nothing. As the tall, handsome, well-groomed young man, with quite an air to him, seemed disposed to question that statement, as if I might somehow have overlooked the trunk, I asked him as mildly as I could if he would like to examine the closet or look under the bed. He declined the offer and

went downstairs to inquire who that satirical fellow was in his old quarters, and what had become of his trunk. We were presently on such comfortable terms as to laugh over the interview, and some reference to the story was apt to turn up in our talk for years afterwards."

The seminary life was one of primitive simplicity. The days had indeed gone by when the students, as Dr. Packard said, had all things in common, like the early Christians — "a common woodpile, where each sawed his wood and carried it to his room; a common cruse of oil, where each freely helped himself." Phillips Brooks bought half a cord of wood for three dollars, and meditated buying a new stove in which he threatened to burn coal. The annual bill for board had advanced from seventy-five dollars to a hundred. But the rooms were still plain, the furniture did not provide for more than the necessities of life, and the fare was meagre. There had been a time when the students had formally protested against an undue limitation in the amount of dried apples, and even in Brooks's day he is found complaining of a monotony of tomato pies and boiled rice.

The social pleasures of the place were few. "It was understood," says Dr. Richards, "that we were always welcome at the houses of the professors. Once or twice a year, perhaps, we used our privilege. It was our chief dissipation. As the chairs were pushed back from the tea-table, we sat in our places, family prayers followed, and the discreet did not linger too long after the benediction. The roads were dark, the mud was deep, the dogs loud-mouthed, the neighbors scattered, and we saw little of them. It was pure cloistral life, for the most part."

In the midst of these discomforts and disadvantages, most of which belonged not to Alexandria only but to the simple life of that generation, there was an indefinable quality in the place which imparted itself to the young men who studied there. Bishop Bedell bore witness to it when he said, "I never again expect to rest my weari-

ness on a spot of earth which will appear so much in the neighborhood of heaven. It always seems to me in recollection a land of Beulah, a little way to the fords of the river and the gates beyond, where the angels keep their guard."

This was due in part to the teaching, but still more to the personality, of the three professors.

Phillips Brooks himself said of Dr. William Sparrow, who taught theology there: "His intellectual and spiritual life seems to me, as I look back upon him, to have been mingled in singular harmony, and to have made but one nature as they do in few men. The best result of his work in influence on any student's life and ministry must have been to save him from the hardness on the one hand, or the weakness on the other, which purely intellectual or purely spiritual training would have produced. His very presence on the Hill was rich and salutary. . . . He loved ideas, and did all he could to make his students love them. . . . On the whole he is one of the three or four men whom I have known whom I look back upon with perpetual gratitude for the help and direction which they have given to my life."

Dr. Richards describes Dr. Packard, who taught the interpretation of the Bible, as "an old-fashioned scholar, who knew what had been said on the knotty points of his Greek and his Hebrew, but reserved his own opinion, holding it in such delicate equipoise as to avoid biassing the minds of his students by any definite hint of it, unless a question involving orthodoxy came before him, when the scales gently descended on the accepted side."

When Bishop Potter was making some anxious inquiries about the seminary, fearing that it might make his son a narrow churchman, he asked a friend to put some questions to Dr. James May, the professor of ecclesiastical history. "I return you Dr. May's letters," he wrote to his friend, "which I have read with the greatest pleasure. What an admirable spirit! Would that I had it in larger

measure, and that it could be infused into all our candidates for orders!"

These affectionate descriptions reveal the seminary of Henry Potter's time as a place pervaded by the warmth of religion, where men of a kindly and sympathetic spirit, — conscientious, studious, and saintly persons, — were teaching a reasonable theology. They "loved ideas." They encouraged their pupils to make up their own minds. "The scales gently descended on the accepted side:" so much the better. The innate radicalism of youth automatically corrects the prudent conservatism of theological professors.

Every Thursday evening, in Prayer Hall, the three teachers met the students for a conference upon the things of the spirit. The meeting began with prayer, after which each professor spoke in turn, giving an instruction or a meditation. It was an exercise, then as now distinctive of the school, which brought the faculty into a pastoral relation with the students. The men who conducted it spoke not as lecturers nor as the judges of a recitation, but as Christian believers conversing with their younger brethren. The influence of these meetings upon the students was deep and abiding.

Recalling them long after in a letter to Dean Crawford, Henry Potter found their value to consist mainly in the fact that "they were devotional, rather than theological, historical, exegetical or controversial. Men whose studies compelled them to be familiar with much that was tragic, painful and often critical, in the history of the church, were immensely refreshed by finding themselves on Thursday evenings in an atmosphere which lifted them to higher levels." The fact that they were conducted by three men, each from his own point of view, each out of his individual experience, emphasized the personal note. The words that were spoken inspired the hearers because they disclosed "a consecrated spirit and a high and august purpose."

The "Faculty Meetings," as these assemblies were called,

gave the students some measure of that pastoral care which is curiously lacking in the lives of most men who are preparing for the ministry. The theological student goes out into his work having had much experience of instruction but very little experience of exhortation and counsel. He starts upon a round of pastoral visits without ever having been pastorally visited himself. It has been taken for granted that he is caring for his own soul. A certain evangelical flavor and warmth of personal religion in men trained in the Virginia Seminary may be traced not only to the kind of churchmanship which has always prevailed there, but to the fact that the students have been regarded not only as pupils in a school but as members of a parish in which the instructors are the responsible ministers. Henry Potter was directed and encouraged, and his life deepened and enriched, by being preached to and prayed with in the Faculty Meeting. There he found, as he said afterwards, a ministry of power "supremely strong in sympathy, tenderness and self-sacrifice."

On Saturday evenings there was a prayer meeting of the students, each class by itself; and each member of the class took his turn in leading it. The prayers were extemporaneous, and the meetings encouraged and trained men in religious self-expression.

On Sundays "it was the admirable custom to assign students to mission stations at a convenient distance — varying from two to five miles — from the seminary." Dr. Richards remembers that during his last year in the seminary Henry Potter had a Bible class of young women at Christ Church, Alexandria, where he also assisted the rector by reading the service. Miss Sally Stuart of Alexandria, the single survivor of that class, at whose house the ten girls met for their lessons, remembers the outlines which the young teacher prepared, and the careful questions which he asked. She remembers also how the class questioned the teacher. They were well educated young persons, who were aware that he was not a college graduate;

they greatly admired his personal appearance, but they did not stand in awe of him. "We often stumped him," says Miss Stuart; "he would say 'I'll answer next week.'" He required them to prepare papers on assigned subjects, — "to save himself the trouble of writing sermons," they said. He used to say of Miss Stuart, when he met her years afterwards at General Conventions, and introduced her to his friends, "I taught her all the Bible she ever knew." To which Miss Stuart always replied, "All the Bible he ever knew, he learned by looking up the answers to our questions."

In the summer of 1856, Henry Potter served as a lay-reader in the little new parish of Mont Alto, in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, near the Maryland line. Iron works had been set up there, and the owner had given an acre of land for a church. This had been consecrated in 1854, at which time the services "occupied some five hours, and were participated in with great interest and attention by a numerous crowd of persons."

The lay-reader took the superintendence of the Sunday School, organized a choir, and began cottage lectures in the outlying farmhouses, where he preached his own sermons. A log-house in the yard of one of his parishioners contained his study and bedroom.

Writing in 1865, he said, "Few places can have more attraction for me than Mont Alto. I look back when I remember my summer with you to some of the brightest memories of my life. Everything that is tender and sacred clusters about my recollections of your little chapel, and of my days of happy retirement with you all."

Long after, in the year before he died, he attended an annual convention of the Diocese of Harrisburg, and, declining the place of state which was offered him, asked permission to be enrolled as a delegate from Mont Alto. There he sat throughout the day, taking part in the business of the session, voting as a representative of Emmanuel Chapel. So well-known and long-continued was his af-

fection for Mont Alto that after his death Mrs. Potter sent a gift of money to the minister then in charge there, in memory of the old days.

Thus passed the quiet and fruitful years of that cloistered life. "I am beginning to buck into Hebrew pretty slowly," wrote Phillips Brooks at that time, "and like it extremely. It is the queerest old language I ever saw." Henry Potter was having the same experience. "In the chapel," says Dr. Richards, "the ritual was simple to barrenness. The music was a repeated martyrdom of St. Cecilia." Dr. Packard remembered that at the commencement service in 1856 "the chants were given by the students in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and it was thought that they sounded beautifully." About that time Bishop Meade vigorously took in hand what seemed to him the beginning of the peril of Puseyism in the school. "After the chapel was built at the seminary the pews, as designed by the architect, were finished with a cross at the top of the pew end. They stood so for some time when on one of his visits they struck him unpleasantly, and he ordered them to be sawed off. This was done, and the chapel was a scene of direful destruction, with these crosses covering the floor. Strange to say, in the psalter the Sunday after this was done, was the verse 'They brake down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers.'"

Meanwhile, the near neighborhood of Washington, the election of Buchanan by the Democrats in 1856, and the presence in the seminary of northern and southern men in about equal numbers, gave occasion to continual debate on the political situation. In December, 1856, the slavery question was discussed in Prayer Hall. It was impossible, even in the seclusion of the seminary, to consider the matter dispassionately. One northern student, who had "held a meeting once a week for the servants of the seminary and the neighbors, received notice that it must be given up." Another who had been preaching either to the negroes or about them was threatened with

a coat of tar and feathers. These objections came from people in the village, who were fearful lest the northern seminarians should stir up a slave insurrection.

In the midst of these influences, in this place of study and prayer and political debate, Henry Potter was made ready for his ministry. "He interested me," said Dr. Richards, "by his attractive face and pleasant manners, his sunny temper, his playful humor, his tact and kindness, his sense and judgment, his freedom from cant, his broad and thoughtful religion. We found ourselves in a somewhat narrow, evangelical atmosphere, so far as our fellow-students were concerned, were neither of us quite ready to be labelled prematurely, and so were drawn much together. He had been in business, I had studied and practised as a doctor, and perhaps we fancied we knew more of the world and of men than most of our cloistered companions, whose life had gone from school to college, and from college to seminary."

Long after, in the midst of his episcopate, Henry Potter recalled a single incident of these preparatory days. He was in New York, he said, on the Feast of the Epiphany, and attended a service in the Church of the Holy Communion. The offering, he noticed, was made all in gold, after the example of the Wise Men. And Dr. Muhlenberg preached on missions. "I remember the vigor of that picturesque figure, a man whose enthusiasm was so pure, so vibrant, that it caught the young mind up into a state of interest in missions, and made an impression never to be effaced." Thus he came into relation with the man who more than any other, except his own father, was the pattern of his ministry.

In 1857 these preparatory years were ended. He was ordained deacon on the 27th of May, in St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia. In the little New Testament which his father gave him that day he recorded the date of his ordination, and added the text, "Preach the word." He was sent to take charge of the church at Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III

IN A COUNTRY PARISH

1857–1859

The Bishop of Pennsylvania, in sending his son to Greensburg, forestalled any possible charge of favoritism. The little parish lay beyond the Allegheny Mountains, and seemed almost as remote as a mission station of the present time beyond the Rockies. General John Forbes had passed that way in 1758 on his march to Fort Duquesne, cutting a road through the woods from east to west. Greensburg had grown up at the place where this road was crossed by an ancient Indian trail. Pittsburgh, which had arisen on the site of the French fort, was thirty miles beyond. The village was visited in the early years of the nineteenth century by observant travellers, who admired its situation on a gentle hill in the midst of a fertile undulating country, and found refreshment at the tavern of the Seven Stars. Even in 1809, a prominent building in the place was the Presbyterian Church. In 1852, the Pennsylvania Railroad came by, on its way from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

The Rev. Joseph Doddridge, who was gathering congregations together for prayer-book worship in Western Pennsylvania early in the century, estimated that "at least one-half of the population was originally of Episcopalian parentage." But he was so alone in his ministrations that in 1818 he "entertained no hope that even (his) own remains after death would be committed to the dust with the funeral services of (his) own church." In February, 1819, Bishop Philander Chase, having been

consecrated in Philadelphia, journeyed on horseback through Greensburg and Pittsburgh, and was the first bishop ever seen in those parts; but he was on his way to Ohio. Bishop White made his single visitation to that part of his diocese in 1825. He found five parishes — in Pittsburgh, in Meadville, in Brownsville, in Franklin, and in Greensburg. Meanwhile, Methodist circuit-riders were traversing the country, preaching in the clearings in the forest, and Presbyterians were building churches out of logs. The Episcopal Church was taking so small a part in the settlement of the lands beyond the Alleghenies as to be a negligible factor.

The sending of Henry Potter to Greensburg in 1857 indicated a new interest in the extension of the Church. It was an incident in a general awakening of missionary effort.

An Anglican tradition of ecclesiastical dignity had made conservative churchmen hesitate to undertake the rough work of the frontier. They had inherited the disposition of their ancestors in England who had been distressed by the methods of Wesley and Whitefield, objecting not so much to the doctrines which they preached as to their custom of preaching them in the street. It was felt that the prescribed services of the Book of Common Prayer were ill-adapted to the informal conditions of western life. It was also felt that the unfailing use of these services was a matter of imperative obligation. But in the fifties the mind of the Church was changing. Young men were going out on the errand of the Church into the far west. Kip was preaching to the miners in California, Scott was starting missions in Oregon, Whipple was on his way to Minnesota to carry the gospel to the Indians. At the same time the "Memorial" prepared by Dr. Muhlenberg, and submitted to the House of Bishops in the General Convention of 1853, was asking "whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public

worship, her traditional customs and usages, is competent to do the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so, adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and for this age?" The most able and influential champion of the Memorial Movement thus begun was Bishop Alonzo Potter.

The bishop sent his son in the spirit of this new time. He began his ministry under conditions which impressed upon his mind the determining truth that the Church is meant for man, not man for the Church. There was upheld before him by the discussions of the time and his father's large and wise share in them, by the example of other men only a little older than himself who were preaching in new fields, and by the circumstances of his own work, the ideal of an aggressive church, waiting no longer for men to come in, but going out to bring them in.

Greensburg, in 1857, had about thirteen hundred inhabitants. Henry Potter, writing long after for the parish-records his memories of the place, recalled that its interests were chiefly agricultural. The land was fertile, and the farms had not yet been set aside for the sake of the fields of coal which lay beneath them. "Fresh from the conventions of Philadelphia society, the young deacon," says Dr. Richards, "entered upon his work in a community where his chief intellectual companionship depended upon 'a Roman Catholic lawyer who was a drunkard, and an infidel physician who was a rake.'" This description of the social condition of the village was exaggerated into this epigram out of playful accounts which Potter gave his friends at home. But "he confessed to me," says Dr. Richards, "that he found a surprising difference in the standards of life east and west of the Alleghenies. He had always thought that human nature was substantially the same everywhere, but now discovered that he could not speak the same language, nor appeal to the same motives which had been familiar to him. He must be made all over again before he could come in satisfactory touch with

his people." It was this making-over process in his experience as a minister among village people which brought into his life a certain abiding quality of comradeship with very simple men and women.

"For the first few months of my ministry," he said in his memories of Greensburg, "I boarded in the house of a lady who was the widow of a Pennsylvania jurist; and later, my home was in a suburb of Greensburg, then known as Ludwig, where my eldest child was born. It would violate a very sacred confidence if I were to speak here of the homes of which I was made free, or of the lovely and loveable people, — some of them, thank God, still living — who abode in them. Their devotion to Christ Church, and their loyalty to its very young and inexperienced rector, were unwearied; and when in some meagre recognition of his missionary obligations, he went to and fro for occasional services in adjoining towns, they were patient and uncomplaining, notwithstanding his often lack of service to themselves.

"For these missionary excursions I kept a horse which I fed and groomed myself, and which bore me faithfully and uncomplainingly over many a rough road. I have said that I groomed him; but, if I did, he never showed it; and the only mild derision in which my long-suffering vestry allowed itself to indulge, had reference to my too occasional use of a currycomb, which, alas, my neglected steed most plainly betrayed.

"The Episcopal Church, as I knew it in Western Pennsylvania, stood for a small and rather feeble folk. I suppose it was this that explained a certain good-natured condescension of which I became distinctly sensible soon after I removed to Greensburg. Brethren of other communions did not hate or fear us, for there was nothing in us to provoke either emotion. They thought the Church-people were a very decent folk, but that we knew but little, if anything, of 'vital religion.' Our ways were to be leniently tolerated, but not to be imitated. If there was any

virtue or piety among us, it had been derived from sources foreign or unsympathetic. Apart from these, we were still groping in the dark.

"We had a Young Men's Christian Association in Greensburg, and when its rooms were opened there was a Dedicatory Service in which I was invited to take part. Walking home from this service an elderly lady of devout Presbyterian lineage and fellowship said to her nephew, 'Richard, who was that young man who made the prayer?'

"'That,' replied Richard, 'was the Episcopal minister, Mr. Potter.'

"'Oh, no,' straightway exclaimed the old lady, 'you must be mistaken there. Them 'Piscopals can't make a prayer without a book.'

"'But I know him,' answered Richard, 'and that was the Episcopal minister.'

"After some moments of silence, Richard's aunt ejaculated, 'Yes, yes, I see it now! He is a grandson of Dr. Nott.'

"The incident was an illustration of a widespread conviction that the Episcopal Church was a dreary bond-servant of written forms of devotion. If any churchman could pray without them, it must be because he had the blood of some non-liturgical ancestor in his veins."

The lack of congenial companionship in Greensburg, so far as it existed beyond the humorous complaints of the young rector's early letters, was soon relieved by his marriage, in the fall of 1857. The good cheer and wise counsel which Eliza Jacobs brought him appear in the reminiscences of Dr. Richards.

"I made him a visit while he was at Greensburg. He had lately married Miss Jacobs of Central Pennsylvania, a woman of strong character, outspoken, true, and with a keen sense of humor. She loved him with all her heart, and therefore was sensitive to any defects or weaknesses in the man she sought to idealize, and brave enough honestly to confront him with them. She was an invaluable wife, then and always. She proved it in trifles as in greater

things. A good many years after their marriage, I slept in a room adjoining his dressing-room at Grace Church Rectory. Such peals of laughter came through the wall that at breakfast time I chaffed him about it, and said that such mirth so early in the day was unnatural, and must have been put on to impress strangers in the guest-room. He responded that he used to be glum as a bear before breakfast, but that his wife's persistent and jubilant cheerfulness had been too much for him, and that she had wholly reformed him in that regard."

The Bishop had known Eliza Jacobs from her earliest childhood. "She has great capacities for usefulness," he wrote to his son, "and, as she will feel very sensibly the absence of the large and lively circle at home, give her all the employment you can find in the parish. It will strengthen the hold of both of you on the affections of the people, and open your way to many hearts that you would not so well reach otherwise. I can never forget how much I owed in this way to your mother. At the beginning of one's ministry such help is especially important, that your time may not be too much frittered away in details which distract the mind of a student. It is a startling and deplorable fact that few clergymen improve greatly in knowledge or mental power after the first five years of their ministry. This ought not to be so; and it would not if our profession had more of the true spirit of self-culture, and were less harassed by varieties of work of which much might be better done by laymen and by the pastor's wife."

A single reminiscence of the Greensburg days appeared years after in an address in New York to the men of Squadron A who had been left behind while their comrades went to the Spanish War. Henry Potter spoke to them on the virtue of obedience to authority. "A number of years ago," he said, "when I was pastor in Western Pennsylvania, while riding in a train I and my fellow passengers suddenly found ourselves violently hurled from our places, and

heaped together at one end of the car. Our train had collided with another, and the scene when we extricated ourselves from the débris was one of tremendous confusion. In a few moments, when our panic had somewhat subsided, there came out of the throng a small slender man whom I met then for the first time, and who afterwards took a great part in the War of the Rebellion. Without raising his voice, without vehemence of gesture, in a naturally calm manner, he took command of the whole situation. In a very short time he succeeded in clearing the track of the shattered locomotive and cars. I asked who this man was, and learned that he was assistant superintendent of the company. He afterwards became Assistant Secretary of War, leaving a record in the service of his country which those who knew Thomas A. Scott, and his singular gifts of leadership, will never forget. There could not be a more perfect illustration than this of the incarnation and impersonation of what may be called imperial authority. From first to last, there was no ostentation, obtrusiveness, or conceit."

In July, 1858, the vestry of Calvary Church, East Liberty (a suburb of Pittsburgh) unanimously resolved to call Mr. Potter to the pastoral oversight of that parish. They promised him a salary of five hundred dollars a year, in quarterly installments. "It is further stipulated and agreed upon," they said, "that, the amount of salary now proposed being the amount pledged by yearly subscribers, should there be any increase in our subscription list, the vestry will gladly pay the amount, whatever it may be, to our future rector."

One of the vestry was requested to visit Mr. Potter and endeavor to induce him to accept this call, explaining the situation of the parish and its prospects of growth. He was to suggest that "a liberal support might be obtained for Mr. Potter through the aid of the Missionary Societies of the Diocese."

This call, thus offering an opportunity to the minister to

make his ministrations spiritually profitable to the congregation and at the same time financially profitable to himself, combining gain with godliness, Mr. Potter declined. He said afterwards that he felt towards the parish as a young woman feels towards a young man who has unsuccessfully sought her hand. She has not been able to accept his kind invitation, but she admires his taste!

On October 15th, Henry Potter was ordained to the priesthood by Dr. Bowman, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, in Trinity Church, Pittsburgh.

A year later a call was accepted which came from St. John's Church, Troy.

The marriage of Mr. Potter had been followed by a round of family visits, in the course of which the young couple went to Schenectady to see his grandparents, the Notts. Old friends came to call from all the surrounding country, and among them were people from Troy. In returning these visits Mr. and Mrs. Potter were often accompanied by his sister. "In the course of this round of matrimonial visits," she says, "we were one day at Troy, and we lunched at the house of three maiden ladies, who — in common (as it seemed to me then) with dozens of other people — said that they had helped to bring my brothers up, but especial attention had been given to Henry. The dear boy used to lunch with them every Sunday. 'And do you remember, Henry, how fond you were of that raised apple-pie that Dinah used to make?" They all laughed a good deal about it — "how merry and full of fun we all were!" — but it had its serious side in the reviving of old associations which, when St. John's was looking for a rector, suggested Henry Potter to many minds.

Moreover, his uncle, the bishop of New York, had consecrated St. John's Church, in 1855, and on that occasion his father had preached the sermon. There was thus both a friendly and a family connection with the parish.

So they called him, and in May, 1859, he accepted, leaving Greensburg amidst the lamentations of the people.

CHAPTER IV

A WAR-TIME RECTORSHIP

1859–1866

Of the four Episcopal parishes existing at that time in Troy, St. John's was the second in the order of foundation. The Mother Church, St. Paul's, had for its rector Dr. Thomas Winthrop Coit, who had written a book entitled "Puritanism," which was learned and witty but frankly polemical, and was not agreeable reading for Puritans. Dr. J. Ireland Tucker was the rector of Holy Cross; he is remembered in the church at large for the musical edition of the Church Hymnal which he edited in 1872. The rector of Christ Church was Dr. Mulcahey, who was followed by Dr. Eaton W. Maxey, to whom succeeded the Rev. Joseph N. Mulford.

St. John's Church, consecrated in 1855, was in the Gothic style of architecture. No other church in town was built that way. Even in Episcopal parishes at that time, the Gothic manner was subject to suspicion. When Mr. Potter came back to Troy to preach in 1905 a sermon commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the building of the church, he commented upon that fact. "In Philadelphia," he said, "where I grew up, the conspicuous edifices were built on the Greek lines of architecture, and a foreigner, seeing the fluted and Doric columns, would be justified in saying that the country had gone back to a classic style. On the other hand, if a building like this were encountered, there would be those who would say that the church was going back to certain Latin superstitions." He felt that the rector and vestry of 1855 had

done a bold and notable thing in thus defying a general sentiment, and appropriating to the use of the church a kind of building which was intrinsically beautiful, regardless of a passing prejudice. "There is no such felicity in architecture," he said at that time, "in the Diocese of Albany."

The *Troy Daily Whig* of June 1, 1855, contained a long description of the church, noticing its walls of red sandstone, looking "as massive and ancient as if they had withstood the storms of hundreds of winters," its open-timbered roof, its organ in the west end, and calling attention to the fact that "throughout this building whatever is seen is real. There are no imitations, no deceptions." Mr. Potter wrote to a friend, "You know what a gem the church is, with its chapel."

Between 1830, when the parish was founded, and 1859, when Mr. Potter's rectorship began, there had been ten rectors. He was the eleventh. Two of them had each stayed for seven years, but the others had remained only a year or two. The frequent changes were due in part to the ill-health of successive ministers. The rector immediately preceding had met with an accident on the very day of his arrival, and had never been able fully to discharge his duties. But there were also indications of parochial disagreement. "Before you came among us," said the vestry when Mr. Potter resigned, "we well remember the dissentient views that obtained not only in our own body but in the congregation which we represent." It is a tradition in St. John's that during the early years of Mr. Potter's incumbency the vestry was never called together, "in consequence of some factional feeling," a survival of controversies which "had left the personal relations of many parishioners strained and uncomfortable."

The nature of the disagreement thus indicated does not appear. But it was a time when there were "dissentient views" in many congregations. The everlasting debate between "high" churchmen and "low" churchmen

was proceeding with increased loudness of voice. In spite of its Gothic architecture, St. John's was a low-church parish, the only one of that kind in Troy. Writing to Dr. Heman Dyer of New York in 1866, and asking him to suggest a possible successor in the impending vacancy of the rectorship, Mr. Potter referred to the "peculiar position" of the parish. "It is to be considered," he said, "that it no longer stands alone here. St. Paul's, Albany, and Christ Church in that city, are now both administered by men of distinctively evangelical views." It is a definition of his own position at that time. He held "distinctively evangelical views."

Whatever the parochial difficulties were, they soon yielded to the wise treatment of the new rector. The Hon. John Hudson Peck, then one of the active young men of the parish, recalls how quietly, even imperceptibly, the air was changed. "Without anybody knowing exactly why or how, everybody was soon aware that St. John's had become a cheerful, harmonious home for a contented, busy, devoted congregation. The change had come as quietly and inconspicuously as the tide changes in the open sea."

Writing to the parish long after, Mr. Potter said: "The earliest and happiest years of my ministry were spent in labors within [St. John's] beautiful shadow; and I shall never forget how quickly and kindly its people transmuted the self-distrust and foreboding with which I began my work among them into courage and hope. St. John's, as I have known it, has been preëminently distinguished by the loyal devotion of its people to their church in all its interests." To the peace which was thus brought to the disturbed parish, the vestry bore witness. "Under your ministry," they said, referring to the time of dissentient views, "this state of affairs soon gave way to one more in accord with that fellowship which is the vital force of every religious community, and strength followed the unity thus established."

But outside the parish there was no peace. The nation was preparing for the Civil War. In 1860, a fugitive slave was arrested in Troy that he might be taken back, as men said, to the lash of his master. A mob arose and rescued him, and sent him on to safety in Canada. In February, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, president-elect, passed through the city on his way to his inauguration. On a Sunday in April of that year, following the first great war-meeting in Troy, all of the ministers preached patriotic sermons. It was noticed as an interesting coincidence that the First Lesson appointed for that day in the Prayer-book contained the passage from the Book of Joel, which reads: "Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up. Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruninghooks into spears: let the weak say, I am strong." In May the first regiment from Troy started for the South. It was Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, Colonel of this regiment, who pulled down the Confederate flag from the roof of the tavern in Alexandria, and, being shot by the landlord, gave his life as a first sacrifice to the great cause. The scene of the tragedy was familiar to the rector of St. John's.

Robert Brown Potter, six years Henry's senior, commanded the 51st New York Volunteers in the campaign of 1862 at Cedar Mountain, at the second battle of Bull Run, and at Antietam. He was wounded at Antietam and at Petersburg. The war touched the family of the rector as it touched the families of his parish.

In 1863, Mr. Potter went to Gettysburg, after the battle. Preaching years after at St. John's, and recalling in particular the life and character of one of the men prominent in the parish in his time, he said, "I was rector of the church during the Civil War, and went to the battle of Gettysburg, arriving at the field before the dead were buried. I never witnessed such a sight, and I received a physical shock from which it took me a long time to recover. I came back to Troy, and was for a long time laid up with a serious

illness at the residence of the man of whom I spoke. It was during the time of the draft riots, and this man had incurred the enmity of many. There came into my bedroom a dull, roaring sound, but I was too weak to understand what it was. He came into my room, and stepped up to the window, and closed the shutters. I asked him why he did that, and he said because the glare of the sun was so great. Years after, I found out that at that time a mob was threatening the destruction of his house. Four men were waiting in the hall below with a stretcher on which to carry me across the alley to the basement of this church, where he thought I would be safe."

He kept a list of all the sermons which he preached in those years. The sermons have long since been destroyed, partly because he had a humble opinion of the value of his own writing, and partly by reason of an instinct of neatness which delighted in the burning of old papers. His habit of clearing out his desks and closets impoverishes his biographer. But the texts and titles of these sermons remain in the blank book in which he began to enter homiletical suggestions and records in the first year of his rectorship in Troy. The subjects which are thus preserved are curiously devoid of allusion to current events. Once he preached on "The Attributes of the Christian Soldier," but the sermon was preceded and followed by such themes as "Thoughts for Ascension Day," "Well-doing, Without Weariness," "The Ministration of the Spirit," "The Great Supper," "Steadfastness in the Faith," and "Christian Courtesy." On the 21st of June, 1863, he preached on "The Opening of the Iron Gates." The next entry is on the 9th of August, when he preached on "Succor in the Plague," taking his text from Numbers 16:48 — "He stood between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed." That was his first sermon after his return from Gettysburg, where he had himself stood between the living and the dead. He must have spoken of the succor which the Lord God would bring in the midst of the hideous

plague of war, a succor for which men were then praying, but without evident answer. The Battle of Antietam was fought on the 16th and 17th of September, 1862. On Sunday, the 21st of September, the sermon at St. John's was on "Love for an Unseen Christ." The war was ended with the formal surrender of Lee on the 9th of April, 1865. That was Palm Sunday, and Mr. Potter preached on "Christ's Pity." On Easter Day the subject was "The Resurrection Body."

How far he illustrated these sermons by reference to the heroisms and martyrdoms of the time, there is now no way to determine. Mr. Peck remembers that "he had no tricks of rhetoric. His sermons were in style like letters, and were read quietly like letters, but at times attracted much attention through the aptness of their good sense and the clarity of their directness and wisdom. He taught old lessons in a new way with fresh illustration and with a novel juxtaposition of facts, fixing attention, and giving them increased interest and force. He never made any use of what, in the street, is called sensation."

It is plain from the statements of the subjects that the preacher was devoting himself faithfully and quietly to the upbuilding of the spiritual life. The war was indeed in progress between the North and the South, but there was another war wherein the devil was besieging the soul of man. To this the preacher continued to address himself.

But on Thanksgiving Day, in 1865, — kept, that year, on the first Thursday in December — he preached a sermon whose title in the Blank Book is "Thanks for Victory." It was printed by the congregation under the title "Our Threefold Victory." With the exception of "Thirty Years Reviewed," an historical and statistical discourse preached and printed in 1861, this was his first published sermon. Here the preacher speaks for himself, and is heard by a public larger than his congregation.

"This is a National Thanksgiving Day," he says, "such

as no nation was ever called on to keep before. There is that to be acknowledged here this morning which makes this, of all similar days in our history, supreme. The perils that are ended, the boons that are secured, the mercies that are to be commemorated, are simply incomparable in all the past. And for these, I affirm, we are called on to thank God, not in any Jewish or Mohammedan way, but 'through Jesus Christ our Lord.' For if ours are not victories at the root of which lie the mighty principles of the gospel of Christ, — if the principles of that gospel are not those which have prevailed, — if the teachings of its divine Author are not those which have been vindicated, then those services have no meaning, this sanctuary opened amid the business of the week, no suitableness, these hymns and anthems of praise no shadow of propriety. If it is only brute force which has won us peace, and there has been no triumph of those divine facts of justice and truth and the sacredness of humanity which Christ brought into the world, then we had better stop right here and go home. I have no business to speak or you to listen."

He refers, with frank dissent, to the action of the General Convention, recently in session, which decided that we could not thank God for victory. "There are a great many among us," he says, "who take issue distinctly with this Church's last General Convention, — many among us who deny that its action represented fairly the mind of the constituencies behind it." He speaks of its "overcautious silence," and deprecates "that timid and unmanly temper which has, among so many of our Northern People, too long sacrificed principle to expediency."

The discussion of the slavery question, even before the war began, had divided most of the religious communions into separate organizations, North and South. The Episcopal Church had remained united. Even when the war was in progress, and the Southern dioceses had followed the Southern states, the separation was not recognized by the General Convention. Day by day, in the sessions of

that body in 1862, the roll-call included all the dioceses. The differences of opinion, which elsewhere were sharply divided by Mason-and-Dixon's line, appeared in the Episcopal Church among those who belonged to the same parish and sat in the same convention. Even in the Congregational Churches of New England there were divisions in the parishes, and men were known to express their disagreement with the parson's war-sermon by getting up and going out of the meeting, emphasizing their departure by a slam of the pew door which was picturesquely described as a "wooden damn." But nowhere were there such searchings of heart as in the Episcopal Church.

The situation is illustrated by the fact that the House of Bishops in 1862 found itself obliged to choose between two proposed Pastoral Letters. One was written by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, who had maintained in a pamphlet that slavery was sanctioned in the teachings of the Bible. The other was written by Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, who went to England with Henry Ward Beecher and Archbishop Hughes, at the request of President Lincoln, to represent the Union cause. The House declined the Letter of Bishop Hopkins, which omitted all reference to the national situation, and accepted the Letter of Bishop McIlvaine.

Now in 1865, at the assembly of the next General Convention, when the roll was called as usual, three Southern dioceses responded, and several Southern bishops were in attendance. The House of Bishops proposed a thanksgiving "for peace in the country and union in the Church." In the House of Deputies, Mr. Horace Binney moved to add to this expression of gratitude a thanksgiving for the restoration of union in the nation, and for the removal of the curse of slavery. This resolution was laid upon the table. This was the declination to thank God for "victory," to which the preacher objected. In so doing, he allied himself with such large-minded patriots as Dr. Francis Vinton, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence and Mr. Felix Brunot. But the fraternal courtesy of the Convention was justified

by the results; the Southern dioceses returned and the unity of the Episcopal Church was maintained.

The vigor of youth appears in the swinging eloquence of the enthusiastic sermon. "I rejoice," he says, "in the victory of our arms. I remember, as you do, the taunts which, with growing insolence, were for forty years flung into the faces of the Northern people — how our courage was mocked at, our love of right and principle derided as the cringing abjectness of a nation of tradesmen. I remember, as you do, how our armies were called hirelings, and their leaders politicians, and I thank God that in the great interests of liberty and law, He has enabled us to silence that drivelling arrogance forever." "For myself," he adds, "I rejoice to remember that during the long and bitter struggle now so grandly ended, this pulpit never uttered a timid syllable, or spoke a despondent word. And there are some here of whom, as I look into their faces, I can remember that they too never lost heart, or for one moment doubted the end." The inference is that there were others of whom this could not be said. This difference of opinion may have been among the "dissentient views" of which the vestry spoke.

Meanwhile, the young rector and his wife had entered actively into the beneficent activities of the town. Mr. Potter was vice-president of the Patriotic Women's Society. Mrs. Potter's name stood second on a list of the first trustees of the Children's Home Society, the purpose of which was to care for such children as were "unable or unwilling to attend the ward schools." This was the first corporate body composed entirely of women, which was legally constituted by the State Assembly to manage its own affairs.

Within five years the seventy families whom he found in the parish had become a hundred and sixty, and the list of communicants had lengthened from a hundred and fifty to three hundred and five. In his "Thirty Years Reviewed," preached in his second year in commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the



Alonzo Potter

Bishop of Pennsylvania, 1845–1865

parish, he called attention to the fact that during these two years he had had forty funerals. Even when he came, as he said on another occasion, it was a parish of young people. "There were few gray heads in St. John's when I came to it, or left it." "The young blood," he added, "kindled into a common enthusiasm as we worked together." The church was crowded. The organ which had stood upon the floor was lifted up into a gallery constructed to receive it, and space was thus made for a hundred additional sittings.

The Rev. Thaddeus A. Snively, rector of St. John's in 1881, preaching on one of those anniversary occasions in which the parish delighted, said in his sermon, entitled "A Half-Century of Parish Life," "There are three features of the work which Dr. Potter accomplished that we should notice, because they were characteristic of the first seven years of a new phase or experience in our history, and gave form, I am quite sure, to the development of the life of St. John's Church.

"*Many new people* were brought in, of a thoughtful and earnest character.

"*Young men* began to consider St. John's their home, and rallied around the young rector with enthusiasm.

"A third feature which resulted from the other two was the fact that a *new character* was given to the parish work."

This new character, he said, was due in part to Mr. Potter's "remarkable personal influence," and in part to "the form which he gave to the church's teaching and position," — especially "the manner in which he presented the church to those not her members."

The Vestry testified that he "commended the truths of Christianity to many who theretofore had manifested but little interest in them." They spoke of "the influence of the rector over the youth of the parish." They expressed their gratitude for "the good results that have been apparent in our whole community from your public advocacy of all that is good and true and patriotic and beautiful,

the mollifying influence which by your course as a Christian gentleman and citizen you have poured upon the prejudices and passions of all with whom in this city you have come in contact."

The young men of the parish added their word of appreciation. "Principally through your sympathy and thoughtfulness," they said, "St. John's has been a delightful church for young men. At a period of life when the effort of our hands and minds has been our only effective method of showing interest and affection in the cause of the Master, you have enabled us to contribute that. Ways have been opened in which we could coöperate in the work of the church. We have known that when there was work to be done which young men could do, they would be called upon to do it." They spoke of "the personal interest and Christian regard which you have so frequently evinced towards us."

Mr. Peck remembers one time when the young people of the congregation had been busy making hundreds of feet of Christmas wreathing for the decoration of the church, and some of their elders had objected to such expenditure of time and money. The youths and maidens came to the Christmas Eve service in the garnished church, annoyed and depressed by this unsympathetic criticism. Mr. Potter preached from the text, "To what purpose is this waste?" The sermon contained neither rebuke nor defence. "It was simply a quiet exposition of the text." But he set the perspective right. Into the parochial difference he did not enter; he made no reference to the local situation. After the sermon was ended, there were "neither victors nor vanquished." But the young people, "with no excuse for any demonstration nor even for thanking him," felt that they were understood.

He won the enthusiastic loyalty of his fellow-workers in the parish by the independence which he gave them, and by the constant courtesy with which he respected the dignity of their position. "He was greatly interested,"

Mr. Peck says, "in his Sunday School. For years he himself was at the head of a very large class of young women. It outgrew the capacity of the room afforded in the chapel where the general school met, and adjourned early in the session to another place. But the rector was in the habit of later visiting the school again quite frequently. Some exigency had required the appointment of a new superintendent. Having selected the person, and desiring that the teachers and officers of the school should hold the new officer in high respect as their executive head, the rector particularly instructed him that when he himself entered the school room it would be at irregular times, and generally with no special purpose; that he would never address the school or take any part in its exercises when the superintendent was present without being specially and publicly invited to do so by that officer. He wished the invitation so given that all present, both teachers and pupils, should be aware of it."

These reminiscences reveal already the presence of that quality of mind which is conveniently called "tact" and which consists, as the word itself indicates, in an ability to keep "in touch" with people. He had it by reason of his honest liking for his neighbors, by his consequent understanding of them and by a certain wideness of vision which saw life in its right proportions and kept him from mistaking molehills for volcanoes.

In 1864, the parish built him a rectory. There Dr. Richards presently visited him. "One of my early memories of Potter," he says, "belongs to his ministry in Troy. A call had come to me — doubtless at his suggestion — from a parish in Albany. On a bitter March day, with a strong wind blowing, I had met the vestry, and taken a look at the church building, and then took a horse-car running along the river bank to consult my friend at Troy. I reached him chilled through, and not all the warmth of his welcome could quite restore the circulation. As I hugged the register, he said in his hearty voice, 'This won't

do. I'll light a fire on my new study hearth, and that will thaw you out.' It was done; and if it were true that 'where there is so much smoke there must be some fire,' I should soon have been in a glow. Clouds of dense smoke poured out, but no fire resulted. By this time I was warm, and so was he, but imperturbably joyous as ever. It proved on examination that the masons had ended the flue just above the fireplace, and the wall of a fine room had to be broken down to rectify the blunder."

"By this time," adds Dr. Richards, "there was a second member of the family, who toddled about the house bearing the most amazing resemblance not to father nor mother, but to the somewhat stern-featured grandfather, the great and good Bishop of Pennsylvania."

In June, 1864, the rector of St. John's represented the Young Men's Christian Association of Troy in the convention of that society held in Boston. He read a paper on "Young Men's Christian Associations, and their Work." The convention passed a vote that Mr. Potter's paper "be adopted, printed and circulated throughout the land."

"There are very few undertakings," said the essayist, "however simple in their nature or single in their purpose, in the prosecution of which, especially if they are continuous undertakings, requiring unremitting and long-protracted effort, we do not need from time to time to refresh our memories and renew our zeal by a reference to their primary object, — to reawaken our flagging ardor and correct our wandering and often ill-directed endeavors, by recalling to mind an original design."

"The history of the origin of Young Men's Christian Associations here and abroad will show," he continued, "that the organization grew out of a need long felt for some instrumentality, especially in cities, for the shelter and help of young men, above all for the care and succor of young men separated from their homes, and the sacred and protecting influences which a home affords."

The society was therefore directed at the beginning tow-

ards a social rather than a distinctively religious mission. "Ours is not a religious body, of the nature of a church, all of whose members must have subscribed to certain standards, and stand in a certain open relation to other Christian people; but it is an association of young men for a Christian purpose, not merely towards others, but towards themselves. In other words, if I understand the design of our brotherhood aright, it does not undertake to look after Christian young men, so much as to do a Christian work of watchfulness and care, and loving and brotherly regard, among all young men, even though they be ever so remote from recognized association with Christian churches or Christian people."

The essayist does not propose, he says, "to inquire just how far we have, here and there, drifted away from this original object; but I think that the fact is indisputable. A great many worthy enterprises, now in behalf of ignorant multitudes about us, and now for suffering ones farther away from us, have more or less largely engaged our thoughts and absorbed our efforts. Do I need to say how fully persuaded I am that these good works have been thoroughly good, and, as I doubt not, have been owned and blessed by God? Results at which we must all rejoice are too plain here to be misunderstood or explained away. But all the while, the original purpose and covenant of this Association remains and binds us."

As for the methods by which this work may be accomplished, the paper does not suggest details, but this significant thing it does say: "Any machinery will be incomplete which does not take in the *whole man*, which does not recognize all the various needs of a youth in a great city, and seek to meet and answer them." "There is a craving," says the essayist, "for congenial society, for healthful recreation, for books, for something which shall recall the precious fragrance of home; above all, for sympathy, however and wherever it may be expressed." He deplores the remoteness of the stranger from the privilege

of uplifting society, and wishes that "many homes could be made to open somewhat more easily to other demands than those furnished by the strict etiquette of social discrimination." He suggests mental and physical recreation as a part of the province of the Association. "Happy shall we be," he concludes, "if by God's blessing upon our poor endeavors we can save our youth, and in these anxious and eventful hours raise up for the defence of truth and freedom, and the labor of Christ, a mighty and resistless host of regenerate and Christian young men."

Dr. Doggett, president of the Young Men's Christian Association College, in Springfield, Massachusetts, calls attention to the fact that two events had at that time diverted the Association from their original social mission to young men. One was the Civil War then in progress, the other was the great revival of religion in 1857–1858. "These conditions," says Dr. Doggett, "had led Association leaders into rescue work and evangelistic endeavor." The society was conducting a kind of church instead of conducting a kind of parish house. No change was made in this respect for several years after the Boston Convention, but the address of Mr. Potter was one of the beginnings of the movement which eventually brought the Association back to its original and distinctive purpose.

"So far as I know," says Dr. Doggett, "this was the first suggestion that the Young Men's Christian Association should work for the whole man. In educational circles, Froebel and his followers have maintained that education should be of the whole personality, but I do not know of any previous statement that religious effort should be so directed by the Young Men's Christian Association. When it is recalled that at the time he made this address almost the entire effort of the Association was along evangelistic lines, the significance of the statement is more obvious. His idea to work for the whole man and supply all his needs in the Christian spirit brought with it all the diversified methods of the Young Men's Christian Association."

By this time, the rector of St. John's had become known beyond the boundaries of his prosperous parish. In 1862, on the nomination of Dr. Heman Dyer, he had been elected rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, but had declined. In 1863, he had been made a Master of Arts by Union College. In the same year he had been called to St. Paul's, Albany, with whose evangelical spirit he was in sympathy. The trustees of Kenyon College asked him if he would accept the presidency. In 1865, Union College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; at the same time honoring with the degree of Doctor of Laws Edwin M. Stanton and Ulysses S. Grant.

In April, 1866, to the dismay of his parishioners, he accepted a call from Trinity Church, Boston, to become Assistant Minister on the Greene Foundation.

"That the blessing of God may attend you in your new charge, and that manifestations of His favor may wait upon your ministry as they have been evinced during your rectorship among us; that you may be supported in your labors by a united and happy people, and find hearts to welcome you as kind as those whose benedictions will follow you, is the sincere prayer of your devoted and faithful friends and servants." Thus affectionately the vestry of St. John's bade him farewell.

When he left Troy a hundred young men came down to the station to see him off.

CHAPTER V

AN ASSISTANT MINISTER ON THE GREENE FOUNDATION

1866–1868

Dr. Potter went abroad in the summer of 1866, and on his return was very unexpectedly appointed secretary of the House of Bishops. He has himself described in his "Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops" the informal circumstances of his appointment.

Entering the port of New York, and glancing over the newspapers which the pilot brought on board, he chanced to notice that an old friend and fellow-student in the Virginia Seminary, Channing Moore Williams, was to be consecrated that morning Bishop of China and Japan. The service was to take place in St. John's Chapel of Trinity Parish. Dr. Potter resolved to go. There was a meagre congregation. The romance of missions had not yet aroused the enthusiasm of church people. The sermon was ended, the bishop-elect was duly consecrated.

"At this point the late Bishop of Connecticut (the Right Rev. John Williams) walked across the chancel to where my predecessor, Bishop Horatio Potter, was standing, pointed towards the pew, in a side aisle, in which I was seated, and whispered in Bishop Potter's ear. The latter turned, looked towards me, nodded his head, and immediately left the chancel, passed into a vestibule adjoining it, and thence into the body of the church. Advancing (in his episcopal robes, be it remembered!) down the aisle to the door of the pew in which I was kneeling, he leaned his elbow on the door, and, bending over, said, 'Henry, how would you like to be Secretary of the House of Bishops?'

"I mention the incident as furnishing a reminder of the great change for the better which, since then, has come to pass in the matter of appropriate usages in church. Bishop Horatio Potter was an exceptionally devout man, and distinguished by unusual reverence in his bearing, in any sacred edifice. And yet, what he did was utterly unremarked then, while it would now be thought impossible for any bishop to do anything of the sort.

"The situation in the House of Bishops was at that time peculiar. The clergyman who had been its secretary had removed to a foreign country and had accepted there a cure of considerable dignity and importance, but had not resigned his office as Secretary of the House of Bishops. He had cherished the idea of retaining this office, it was said, in the hope of binding thus together two peoples of a common lineage and common speech. But whatever his hope or purpose, the House of Bishops did not concur with him in his view of the conditions under which he might retain his office as its secretary, and promptly declared that office vacant. The unexpectedness of the emergency; the necessity for some immediate provision to meet it; the chance presence of a youth who was as likely as anybody else to be an inoffensive secretary, must, I presume, explain what followed. I was elected by a *viva voce* vote, and, I believe, *nemine contradicente*, and thus entered upon an office for which I had not had the slightest training, and in which I had not even the most meagre experience."

This office he held until his election to the episcopate in 1883.

The House of Bishops meeting with closed doors, the functions of a secretary to that body can only be inferred from observation of secretarial duties in general, but one ceremony in connection with the office is not only open and public, but conspicuous. The fact that the two branches of the ecclesiastical legislature, the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, meet separately,

necessitates a communication of legislative actions from one house to the other in order that debate may be held upon the question of concurrence. Thus communications from the Bishops are brought to the Deputies by the Secretary of the House of Bishops. The pending debate is thereupon interrupted, and the message is formally received. This picturesque duty came now into the province of Dr. Potter.

"A few of us are left," says Dr. Richards, "who can recall his splendid entrances as secretary bearing a message from the upper house to the lower one. He stood at the door of the middle aisle in an attitude of humble expectancy until he was noticed by the presiding officer with the magic words 'A Message from the House of Bishops!' Then with measured and stately tread, with the dignity of the bearer of an important document, with the modesty of one who stood in the presence of the historic clergy and laity duly assembled, he paced the aisle to the platform, stood with gravity while the President announced the contents of the message, and then, his duty discharged, moved slowly to the door by which he had entered. No blare of trumpets or splendor of costume could have added anything to the great occasion. Augustus Hoppin, the artist, was one of the deputies from Rhode Island, and in a clever sketch caught the humor of the scene. Potter heard of it, insisted on seeing it, enjoyed a hearty laugh at his own expense, and thereafter entrusted the delivery of messages to his excellent assistant."

The Greene Foundation upon which Dr. Potter became Assistant Minister in Trinity Church, Boston, had been established in 1763 by the heirs of Thomas Greene, Esq., one of the original proprietors. They gave five hundred pounds sterling, and the trustees of the Foundation added a like sum, the interest to be used "towards providing and supporting an Assistant Minister as aforesaid and to no other use whatever."

The Rules of the Trustees for the Observation of the

Assistant Minister provided that he should "read Prayers and Preach, once every Sunday, Morning or Evening, as shall be most convenient for the stated Minister; read Prayers alternately on the Holy Days, and perform the whole Parochial service when the Minister shall be sick, or otherwise necessarily absent." He was forbidden to perform any part of duty that is "attended with a perquisite" without the consent of the Incumbent or Stated Minister. In view of difficulties which might arise between the two ministers, it was ordered that "if at any time a difference of opinion shall happen between the Minister and the Assistant as to any part of the duty which the former may require of the latter, the same shall be referred to, and determined by the Wardens and Vestry."

Under these provisions, the duties of this office had been performed since 1763 by a number of clergymen of unusual distinction. Samuel Parker had become bishop of Massachusetts; George Washington Doane had become bishop of New Jersey; John Henry Hopkins had become bishop of Vermont; and Thomas March Clark had become bishop of Rhode Island. One day, long after, when Dr. Potter was inspecting the new Trinity Church under the guidance of Dr. Brooks, they came to the great chancel whose wall exhibited a vast expanse of unadorned surface painted green. "Henry," said Brooks, "can't you suggest some appropriate decoration for this green wall?" "Yes," said Potter, "I would suggest a procession of the Assistant Ministers on the Greene Foundation!"

The rector under whom Dr. Potter was appointed to serve was Bishop Eastburn. He was then sixty-five years of age, and had been Bishop of Massachusetts since 1842. The diocese was too poor to pay the whole salary of a bishop; he must be at the same time the rector of a local church. Several weeks of episcopal visitation sufficed to enable the bishop to look after his few parishes. Except for a month in the spring and another month in the fall, his time was free to attend to his parochial work.

There had been some disagreement concerning the Assistant Minister in the early days of Bishop Eastburn's incumbency, giving occasion for half a dozen brisk pamphlets, which are dated in 1845, 1846, and 1847. The rector requested the assistant to resign, declaring that they differed "in points of such vital and essential importance" that he could not leave him in charge of the parish "without anxiety on its behalf." The differences had to do with the current disagreement between "high church" and "low church." Bishop Eastburn was a low churchman. Some of the parishioners took one side of the debate and some the other. One of the vestry went so far as to remind the bishop, in a printed letter, of his ordination vow to maintain and set forward quietness, peace and love among all men.

This sharp difference had now become a matter of old tradition, and although Bishop Eastburn's churchmanship remained unmitigated, and his natural force in the expression of his convictions was by no means abated, the new Assistant Minister found him an interesting and congenial person to live with. "I was so much the bishop's junior that, from the outset, his intercourse with me was alike affectionate and unreserved." Dr. Potter long remembered his first dinner with his chief after his appointment, when the bishop, visibly uncomfortable and perplexed, finally offered the assistant a cigar, saying as he did so, "Dr. Potter, I presume that you don't smoke?" and then, delighted at finding the cigar accepted, said with profound relief, "I was afraid that you had inherited the detestable prejudices of your father!"

The Assistant Minister found a house at Longwood. There were now three babies, ready to romp with him when he came home tired from his parochial duties. They all got down on the floor together before the nursery fire, and were changed into lions and bears, until Mrs. Potter came in to give them the scolding which they deserved.

"And, Henry," she said, "your coat is quite new; you seem to forget that. It will be ruined."

Commonly, the young parson was very particular about his clothes. That well-groomed appearance which his companions noticed in the seminary was characteristic of him. His sister remembered him in his teens, a gorgeous vision, "in a dark red velvet waistcoat, with jewelled buttons, a cravat of some other color, and pins and rings." It was pleasant to him to be clad in bright array. In later years he liked to wear the resplendent red gown which he brought back from England after Cambridge gave him a doctor's degree in laws.

The first sermon of the new assistant found its text in the Ninety-sixth Psalm — "Honor and majesty are before him — strength and beauty are in his sanctuary." The texts and topics of the forty sermons which followed, as noted in the Blank Book, represent his ministry in Boston. The second sermon, preached on Thanksgiving Day, was published by request of the congregation. The subject was "Individual Responsibility to the Nation." The reader misses the flowing eloquence of the sermon of the year before. The preacher is more restrained in his manner. He quotes from Bacon's "Essays," and from Niebuhr's "Lectures on Roman History," and refers to Titian's picture of Charles the Fifth on horseback. He apparently thinks that Boston is different from Troy. When, however, he gets fairly into his sermon, he addresses the community in which he lives not only as a preacher but as a citizen. The note is sounded which was heard in Troy, and which was audible thereafter in all the notable sermons of his ministry. It is plain that he has interests which extend beyond all the ordinary ecclesiastical boundaries. He is concerned with the duties which men owe to the state as well as to the church. He is aware of the need of purifying not only the personal life but the public life of the nation.

"Is it not possible," he says, "that that habit, which

we learned during the four years of our sore trial, of summoning men to very high and sacred responsibilities, with very careless and superficial scrutiny of their personal character, lingers among us in its perilous effects still? Are we as careful as formerly to see to it, all over the land, that the various branches of government, in the State and in the Nation, are filled by pure and upright men? Are there no facts concerning our municipal and other elections in some of the chief centres of our wealth and civilization, which, as we look across the sea, and take note of their impression on older peoples and empires, may well make us blush? Is there no venality in even our most venerable legislative bodies? Are our public servants always and everywhere men who will be sure to resist the powers of corruption, and to consult only the highest interests of their constituents? Nay, more, to go behind these evils on the surface to the malady which is their root, do we recognize and discharge our separate responsibility as citizens? Are we careful to make our personal influence everywhere felt: at the ballot-box, in the primary meeting, in our social and political conferences; by all the testimony of our daily speech and life?"

It is a true saying that most preachers, even very eminent ones, have only two or three sermons. These they preach over and over, from many different texts, with many changes of illustration and of application, throughout their ministry. This was one of Dr. Potter's sermons, this insistence on political righteousness. This he understood to be a great part of the business of the Christian religion. He put it up to the conscience of the Christian citizen. He had another sermon in which he protested against the extravagance, prodigality, ostentation, selfishness, and worldliness of social life. This was for women, as the political sermon was for men.

This also had a place in the Thanksgiving Sermon of 1866. "No man or woman," he says, "has a right to indulge in habits of luxury or extravagance hurtful to the

community around them. They are deteriorating the whole body politic by their bad example. . . . There were great dynasties that once covered the earth with tokens of their wealth and strength, more splendid, even, than any that greet our eyes to-day. And from out the ashes of their long-perished grandeur we may read our possible future. They were not the victims of conquest; they did not perish through internal dissensions; they simply rotted to death by the cancerous decay of an enervating luxury and extravagance."

The Blank Book contains the texts and subjects of five hundred sermons, beginning with the Power of the Gospel; and ending with Christ's Headship of the Church, preached in New York in 1870. Much of the book is occupied with texts, and suggestions for sermons thereupon. One page is headed "Thoughts on Preaching." "Many," he says, "think to be original by taking quaint and odd texts. Commonplaces tacked on to startling texts only make the contrast more marked and unsatisfying." "Many parsons dealing with texts are like a fly crawling over an apple: they go all over it, all around it, but they don't get into it. They do not get into its spirit. So again, many preachers are like humming birds: they go buzzing about a flower through most of the half hour, and at last, just as it is time to stop, settle down on the central truth. It is a great thing to go straight to the point; it avoids dissipating attention. When you have once got it, then you can present it in as many lights as you please." "Find out distinctly before undertaking to preach on a text, why you are attracted to it. Sometimes a verse or passage incites our emotion, but feeling is not thought. What you want is an *idea*."

"Be content to make a single point. Better impress one clearly than a dozen vaguely."

"No sermon is worth much which does not prove something; or quicken us to 'hold that which is good.' At the same time, it is doubtful whether merely dry, hard, logical,

argumentative preaching is not, of all kinds, the least profitable. Preaching, after all, to be effective, must reach the heart. That is what the gospel aims to do. That is Christ's way. Merely argumentative preaching is like a diamond, clear-cut, sparkling, but cold, hard, unfeeling. Christ's preaching was like the expression of the human face, full of emotion, love, scorn, pity, righteous anger, entreaty."

This ministry was interrupted in the spring of 1868 by a call from Grace Church, New York. In March he wrote to Dr. Dyer, "I thank you heartily for your kind note of the 14th, which has helped to steady me in a decision which I have approached, improbable as it may seem to many, with great reluctance and which I shall make at no inconsiderable sacrifice of personal ease and freedom from responsibility. I shall probably be in New York about the last Sunday in April."

On the 13th of April, the vestry of Trinity Church, by the hand of Mr. John C. Ropes, its clerk, transmitted to its retiring assistant minister a resolution of regret.

"*Resolved*, that the corporation learn with profound regret that Dr. Potter has decided to sever his connection with this church.

"His devoted and able performance of every duty, the regard and affection entertained towards him by all who have shared his ministrations, the uninterrupted prosperity spiritual and secular, which has marked his residence among us, in some measure indicate the loss we sustain.

"We should be ungrateful for the benefits we have derived from his pastoral care, did we not invoke the best blessing of Providence on his future years, with the devout trust that, whatever his field of usefulness, his service may prove as acceptable, and that he may be as beloved and prospered, as in this parish."

Dr. Potter suggested to the disappointed vestry, or, at least, to one member of it, that a suitable rector might be found for Trinity Church in the person of one of his

old friends at the Virginia Seminary. "He told me," says Colonel Charles R. Codman, "that he had reason to believe that Phillips Brooks was inclined to leave Philadelphia, and would like to come to his native city of Boston. This was a great surprise to us, but we at once acted upon the suggestion." Boston was already filled with Dr. Brooks's fame. His prayer at the Harvard Commemoration had revealed him to the community as a man who talked with God. The possibility of getting him gave definite direction to the general desire.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANIZATION OF A WORKING PARISH

1868–1873

THE new rector, then in the thirty-fourth year of his age, preached his first sermon in Grace Church on Sunday, April 26th, 1868. His subject was "A Living Christ, the Power of a Living Religion." "The edifice was well filled," said the *Times* in an inconspicuous paragraph, and the "instructive discourse was listened to with marked attention." Thus quietly the New York ministry began.

The city at that time was practically bounded by Forty-second Street. Beyond were ill-paved roads between knolls of rock inhabited by goats and squatters. Downtown, Trinity spire soared high above the four-story shops and houses. Complaints were made, however, of the grievous scarcity of residences with reasonable rents, and already, in 1865, attention had been called to "the Parisian plan of dividing a large building into many suites of apartments."

The President of the United States was then on trial looking to his impeachment. In Mexico a revolution was in progress. Hostile Indians were making trouble in Nevada. The Kuklux Klan was active in Mississippi. General Napier was scattering the troops of King Theodore in Abyssinia. In New York, Tweed and his associates were beginning to retreat.

Lyman Abbott was pastor of the New England Congregational Society in East Forty-first Street, John Hall was at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Thomas Armitage

at the Fifth Avenue Baptist, William M. Paxton and Howard Crosby were active in their ministry, Beecher and Storrs were preaching in Brooklyn. John Cotton Smith was at the Ascension, Edward A. Washburn at Calvary, Stephen H. Tyng at St. George's, Dr. Morgan at St. Thomas's, Dr. Houghton at the Transfiguration, Dr. Ewer at Christ Church, Dr. Dix at Trinity.

Grace parish was organized in 1809, and the present church was built in 1846. Dr. Thomas House Taylor had been rector for thirty-three years (1834–1867). The commanding position of the church, at the turn of Broadway, was even more noticeable than it is now, for business, though already invading, had not taken possession of the neighborhood. The communicants, however, were fewer in number than those whom Dr. Potter had left in Troy. In 1870 the parish reported only 264.

The long ministry of Dr. Taylor had been a blessing to his people. When the chimes were hung in the tower of Grace Church, in 1873, the Great Bell was given and inscribed in his memory: "during whose rectorship this building was erected and consecrated. A faithful and affectionate pastor, a godly and well-learned divine. A people to whom he ministered for thirty-three years here record their grateful memory of his labors and his virtues."

It is plain, however, that Grace Church, when Dr. Potter came to it, was a very quiet parish, showing much evidence of dignity but little of emotion, and proceeding rather leisurely upon its comfortable way towards the kingdom of heaven. The rectorship of Dr. Taylor belonged to a time when the emphasis was on the ministration of the church to its own people. They were assembled of a Sunday for a service consisting of the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Ante-Communion; the children were taught the Catechism in the Sunday School; their mothers had a Sewing Society; and the pastor went upon the regular round of faithful visitation. All things continued as they had been for generations.

The rectorship of Dr. Potter belonged to a time when the emphasis was on the ministration of the church to the community. The purpose was to bring new people in, and to make the church not only helpful but attractive to them. That involved the shortening and enlivening of the services, the brightening of the church interior, the adaptation of the life of religion to the condition of childhood, the endeavor to get hold of the unchurched, to help the poor, to improve the common life, and to enlist for these purposes the energy of coöperating parishioners.

When Dr. Taylor built Grace Chapel, the only provision which he made for the Sunday School and all other parochial activity was in a dimly lighted and ill-ventilated basement, where they occupied whatever space was not needed for the coal bins and the furnace. In so doing he followed the common custom of that day. Dr. Potter found the building wholly inadequate to the purposes of proper parish life, as he understood it. He belonged to a new time. He represented that new idea of the mission of the church which in the fifties and sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century was introducing such novelties as Christmas trees, and choirs of men and boys, and daily services and weekly communions, and flowers at Easter, and church schools and church infirmaries, and parish houses. Dr. Muhlenberg was the apostle of this movement, but Dr. Potter was an enthusiastic leader. It was his earnest desire, as he had said while he was still at Troy, that religion should minister to the whole man.

Dr. Potter found already existing in Grace Church a single parish society: an Industrial School which the wife of the previous rector had established. It was gathering together forty children from the poorer families of the neighborhood, to teach them to sew and to provide them with clothing. Within a year, under the impetus which he gave, the attendance was increased to a hundred and thirty-five. To this society he immediately added three others, and employed in addition a parish visitor and a Bible reader.

The "First Annual Report of the Various Departments of Parish Work in Grace Church," — itself a novel publication — breathes in every page the spirit of newness. The Ladies' Benevolent Society "was organized a year ago on the 10th of November" (1868). The Ladies' Domestic Missionary Relief Association "was organized at Grace Chapel, October 17th, 1868." St. Luke's Association of Grace Church "was organized at a meeting in the basement of the Chapel on the 23d of February last" (1869). The Parish Visitor says, "My visits for the Chapel began November 1st, 1868." The work of the Bible reader is presented in a first report. These were immediate results of the initiative of the new rector. Under his leadership the whole parish was awakening into beneficent activity. It was recognizing, as the rector said, "the high claims of Christian obligation."

In the Report of the next year (1870) each of the parochial organizations shows an increase in membership and in accomplishment. They "have all enlarged their operations and strengthened themselves in the affections and interest of increased numbers of people." The rector urged upon the people the importance of living the religious life according to a systematic plan.

"The experience of the past year," he said, "has demonstrated the manifold advantages of an organized and definite plan or system of Christian service. The moment that one finds an opening awaiting him in which to do something specific at a specified time and place, it becomes far easier to undertake it. There are a great many persons in any congregation who only need to have their work shown to them in order to secure its being promptly and cordially undertaken."

This usefulness of a definite plan he proceeded to urge upon the congregation in several details.

"1. We want a system for the development and perpetuation of household religion — religion in the family. We must have these, if our children are not to grow up into

godless unloveliness, a daily rule of domestic devotion, of scriptural instruction and of training and nurture in Christian song. All these things, too much neglected among us, are vital to the truest welfare of every child in our homes, and it is, under God, only through some firmly fixed and faithfully observed system, that we can secure them.

"2. No less do we need the help of some such self-imposed rule to hold us to that wise scheme and system of public worship which the Church in her services has already established for us. Not only the Sundays but the holy-days, the Advent watchfulness, the Ember-day prayerfulness, the Lenten abstinence, all these are of her wise ordering, meant to help us, and most fitly arranged to do so, but needing still some deliberately assumed determination on our part that we will reverence this order, will observe and improve these sacred opportunities, and so in prayer and song and sacrament oftener draw near the source of all strength and help and heavenly inspiration.

"3. And so, too, in our practical endeavors to serve and bless our fellows. It seems hard at first to wrench out from the busy week an hour or two to teach some poor child, to minister to some poor man or woman, to care for some sick sufferer, or to think of the wants of the church's standard-bearers, and try to relieve them; but a fixed rule helps us wonderfully to do it, and makes us no losers when it is done.

"Even so of our gifts. Most of all do we want, in regard to them, some definite plan and principle. There would be far less irritation under what we call the 'endless calls' of the day if we would learn to discriminate as to our gifts on some sound and Christian principle, and then provide for their being made in some fixed plan — money being regularly set aside for certain objects, and their claim being distinctly put in the first rank."

The passage is of interest not only for its value as a wise counsel in religion, but for its disclosure of the mind of the

writer. He spoke out of his own experience, and recommended that which he had already proved. As he enters in these paragraphs into the plain sight of the reader he is perceived to have a quality of orderliness which was ever characteristic of him. It is revealed in every detail of these little early year-books, with their sequence of secretary's reports and treasurer's reports, their record of even the smallest receipts and expenditures, and their acknowledgment of the least contributions: —

"1 box of needles, bones, pins and tape.

"1 velvet bonnet.

"1 gent's hat.

"6 linen collars."

He did not, of course, draw up these lists himself, certainly not the item of the "gent's hat" — but he set the pattern: a pattern which still governs the year-books of Grace Church, and of innumerable other churches which have followed its example.

The ordering of life according to a determined system was habitual with him. His days, to the end of them, were divided and assigned, this hour to one duty, that to another. It was in this manner that he accomplished an amount of work which to the onlooker seemed incredible, and did it without nervousness or over-strain. Dr. Edward O. Flagg, who was assistant minister with him for six years, says that he looked after Grace Church like a good housekeeper. He allowed no disorder. "No confusion or untidiness was found anywhere, but system and completeness were discernible from vestibule to penetralia." And Archdeacon Nelson, who was not only his assistant at Grace Church but his secretary after he became bishop, testifies to the extraordinary neatness of his desk. "System," he says, "was not so much a mechanical regularity as a spell of 'sweet reasonableness' under which his work in its smallest detail as well as in its largest scope found its smooth and fitting groove. Everything of his was in its place and never allowed to get out of its place. His

desk was always on dress parade, though always in action. His papers went into its drawers and pigeonholes in single file in good order, and stood at attention ready to come out in like manner."

The Annual Report of 1870 contained a proposition to the congregation to establish a Grace House. This was of a piece with all his plans for making the parish a special force in the community, and was altogether in the spirit of the advice which he had given to the Young Men's Christian Association while he was rector of St. John's.

"If what we have already undertaken to do for others has any obvious defect," he said, "it is that it does not with sufficient directness reach and minister to the humblest and least cared-for classes. To serve these, a mission must plant itself among them; and to do any substantial service it must be a *many-sided* mission, having something to say to those to whom it comes, not only on Sundays, but on week-days; something to say to the bodies of those whom it would fain care for, as well as to their souls; something to do for their physical and intellectual pains and hungers, as well as for that other and deeper hunger of the soul for the Bread of Life. No truly Christian endeavor can leave their physical and intellectual wants out of account. Christ never did; His Church may never dare to. We must reach our fellow-men through their sympathies, their affections, their awakened intellectual enthusiasm, as well as through their spiritual hopes and fears. And to do this a House is wanted which shall itself be a centre of Christian education, Christian healing of body, Christian entertainment, Christian compassion and benignity. This House must be something more than a Church, opened only on Sundays, and on a week evening or two, but closed and cheerless all the rest of the week. It must include a Chapel and Lecture Room, a Free Dispensary, and a Free Reading Room, a Free Church-School Room, with, perhaps, a Hall for Recreation, and apartments for the two or three godly women, trained under such auspices

as those of St. Luke's Hospital, or the Bishop Potter Memorial House in Philadelphia, who will be needed to carry on such a work. Plant such a building in the midst of some needy district in this great city, and the most callous heart will understand it."

The General Convention of 1871, which Dr. Potter attended as secretary to the House of Bishops, was occupied during a considerable part of its session in the endeavor to deal with the difficulties of high churchmen on the one side and of low churchmen on the other. The general church was in a nervous state. The bishops in England were perplexed between the ritual eccentricities of Mr. Mackonochie and the doctrinal novelties of Bishop Colenso. In this country, the evangelical brethren were organizing to oppose the invasion of Anglo-Catholic ideas. The Rev. Mr. Tate of Ohio had been tried in 1869 "for violation of the rubric, in the introduction of a surpliced choir." In the same year the Rev. Mr. Cheney of Illinois was tried for omitting from the service of baptism the word "regenerate." Nine low-church bishops had memorialized the convention to relieve the consciences of their brethren by allowing the use of alternative phrases in critical places in the Book of Common Prayer.

The high-churchmen, under the leadership of Dr. James De Koven, pleaded for a liberty of ritual which the Convention decided not to permit. The low-churchmen were contented for the moment by a declaration of the bishops to the effect that "the word 'regenerate' is not so used [in the baptismal services] as to determine that a moral change in the subject of baptism is wrought by that sacrament."

The most important action of the Convention, however, from the point of view of the rector of Grace Church, was its acceptance of the report of a committee, of which he was the most active member, on the organizing of the work of women in the church. The matter had been brought before the Board of Missions in 1869, and the Board in

1870, recognizing "the tested value of organization of trained laity, and especially of Christian women," appointed this committee to consider "'the best means of associating the organized or individual efforts of women with the missionary and educational work of the church.'"

An immediate result of this action was the establishment in 1871 of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions. It had its origin and pattern in the Ladies' Domestic Missionary Relief Association, "whose branches," the committee said, "exist in parishes scattered all over the land," and which Dr. Potter had introduced into Grace Church, in 1868.

A further result was to arouse general interest in the matter of sisterhoods and deaconesses.

The Sisterhood of the Holy Communion had been founded in 1845 under the pastoral care of Dr. Muhlenberg. The sisters lived under a simple rule, which provided that they should dress alike, "and as plainly and inexpensively as possible," that they should live under rule, yielding "a cheerful obedience in all things pertaining to the ordering of the community, and the work given it to do," and that they should give their whole time to their duties, receiving the visits of relatives and friends only during the specified hours of recreation. The term of service in the Sisterhood was set at three years, renewable, if desired. The sisters were at first engaged in parochial work, ministering to the poor and teaching in the Parish School of the Church of the Holy Communion. Later, the Community took charge of work in St. Luke's Hospital. This was the first Protestant association of the kind in this country.

The Order of Deaconesses of the Diocese of Maryland had been founded in 1855, in St. Andrew's Parish, Baltimore, whose rector was the Rev. Horace Stringfellow. Two devout women consecrated themselves, under his pastoral care, to the work of ministering to the poor. The bishop of the diocese approved, a house was secured for their residence, and others, resident and associate, joined

them. They were formally admitted to be "servants of the Church of God as deaconesses." The bishop in a public service received them with counsels and prayers and the giving of the right hand of fellowship. They assumed "an economical habit," observed six Hours of Prayer, and lived under rule.

The examples thus set had been followed in various parts of the country. Sisterhoods had been founded in Baltimore, in New York, and in Washington. Deaconesses had been set apart for the work of the ministry in Alabama and in Long Island; a School for the Training of Women Helpers had been established in Philadelphia in memory of Bishop Alonzo Potter.

These innovations upon the customary life of the church had met with the protest and prejudice natural to a generation unused to novelty and suspicious of it. The Women's Work Committee of the Board of Missions protected those who were striving to revive ancient orders and agencies from the imputation, as Dr. Potter phrased it, "that they are unfaithful to the church's reformed character or distinctive standing." The Report of the Committee called attention to the fact that women were being continually summoned to *give*, — but what? "Money, garments, tracts — anything and everything, save that which their Lord wants first and most, and that is themselves, wholly, absolutely and unreservedly, in a life and service consecrated to Him and His, forever." And it added "Even what they do give of service or of thought for Christ's poor or ignorant ones, under our present system or want of system, they can only give in a desultory, half-hearted, spasmodic way."

The Committee recommended the formation of sisterhoods, parochial and diocesan, and they urged upon the Board of Missions "as a very important means of enabling the Church to avail itself of the organized efforts of women, what is known in our Mother Church of England as the order of Deaconesses." The House of Bishops in its Pas-

toral Letter of that year (1871) so far adopted the Report of the Committee as to speak of "the revival of the Scriptural diaconate of women" in words which were discreetly conservative but not discouraging. The bishops recognized the fact that such a revival was actively in progress. "We feel an earnest desire," they said, "that prudence and good sense may preside over every effort."

Dr. Potter took this cautious approbation as the text of a sermon in December, 1871, on "Woman's Place and Work in the Church." The subject was not at that time complicated by any political debate; neither did the preacher venture far into the question as to the possibility of women's preaching. He referred, not without sympathy, to a recent sermon by Henry Ward Beecher which maintained that "no one can at once inculcate and illustrate that spirit of love which breathes through the New Testament as can a woman." But his theme was the ministration of women under organization. "Why shall not we, too, have sisters of charity? Shall we be guilty of the weakness of despising a good instrument because we find it in bad company?" As for deaconesses, there they are in the New Testament. "Help those women," says St. Paul, "which have labored with me in the gospel." The meaning is not satisfied by the supposition that "these were simply estimable mothers or daughters of families who gave to the founding of the infant church at Philippi merely such snatches of time as they were able to rescue from other engagements." And take that other place, in which the apostle prescribes the duties and virtues necessary to the wives of deacons; the Greek says nothing about the wives of deacons. St. Paul is speaking of the women-deacons, the deaconesses. "We want," said the preacher, "for a large class of persons in the church, the manifold advantages of a definite organization and a definite commission."

It was in the furtherance of this idea that Dr. Potter published in 1872 a book entitled "Sisterhoods and Deacon-

esses at Home and Abroad." It begins with the Report of the Committee on Women's Work, to which he appends letters addressed to him, as helps in the preparation of the Report, by experienced and distinguished persons in the English Church, — the Bishops of London, of Manchester, of Salisbury, the Rev. Berdmore Compton, secretary of the Deaconesses' Institution, Miss Longley, daughter of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Miss Frere, daughter of Sir Bartle Frere. The body of the book is occupied with the actual rules in operation in each of the sisterhoods and orders of deaconesses then existing in America and in England, together with the services used in the admission of members. It is thus a working manual, designed to bring down out of the clouds the common discussion of women's work in the church, and to impart to the movement the element of definiteness. This, he says, in effect, is what is now being done. Here are patterns and suggestions for those who would bring their good desires to good effect.

In the year-books and sermons of this period, Dr. Potter continually recurred to the idea of living the life of religion in the midst of the distractions of society. In the nature of things, those who could serve God as sisters or deaconesses were few in number; but all were summoned to serve Him in the normal occupations of the common life. The rector was oppressed and dismayed by a certain "deification of amusement" to which his experience had not accustomed him. He frankly liked society. His temperament directed him that way. He saw no virtue in a habit of separation which sets the minister apart from the natural life of his neighbors, and connects him only with books and prayers, with weddings and funerals. There is a legend in the effect that when his name was brought forward in an election to the bishopric of Massachusetts, it was objected to him that he attended teas. No doubt he did, finding there not only relaxation but opportunity. This honest enjoyment of social life emphasized his criticisms of society.

He was able to speak in the language of sympathetic understanding.

Recreation, he said, is tested by its results. It is recreation only when it re-creates. "I say nothing now of the function which an assemblage, gathered at an hour when people are ordinarily in their beds, in overheated, overcrowded rooms, under conditions hopelessly unfavorable to hearty or kindly intellectual intercourse, aiming simply and supremely at physical and millinery display, may answer in the sphere of what is conventionally known as 'society,' for I confess frankly that the whole subject is to me a mystery, which, the more it is scrutinized only grows the more obscure and unintelligible; but I protest against the calling of any such an entertainment or of any other form of recreation with such characteristics, by the name of genuine amusement."

So of the theatre. "Persons of pure lives and unspotted name are seen in our day, gazing upon spectacles or hearkening to dialogues, which, whether spoken or sung, ought to bring the blush of shame to any decent cheek. If we could see some parent rising in her seat in a place of public amusement and calling those about her to follow her out of it, when both modesty and decorum had been outraged by the mimic scene upon the stage, we should have a specimen of genuine heroism which would go farther than anything else to give us healthful and innocent dramatic representations."

It is easy to speak after this fashion to a congregation who are acquainted with balls and operas only by reading about them in the newspapers, and who listen with the instinctive approval which attends a reprobation of other people's sins; but these words, and many others quite as plain, were preached in what was called a "fashionable" church in the hearing of those to whom these matters presented an actual and immediate temptation.

Meanwhile, "the scheme of a house for Christian work among the poor and neglected, to be planted in their midst,

and include within its walls provision for the instruction of the young, for medical aid and services, for free Mission Services, free Lectures, and other forms of recreation and instruction" had been given solid reality. The Annual Report for 1872 contains a letter to the vestry from the Hon. Levi P. Morton: "I desire to present to the Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of Grace Church, New York, the property at present known as Calvary Chapel, in East Twenty-third Street, near Third Avenue, comprising two lots of land, together 50 feet by 100 feet, with the Chapel, organ and fixtures, the said premises or their proceeds to be always under the control and direction of Grace Church, and to be held in trust by them for the general purposes described in the paper herewith appended under the title of 'Grace House.' I have been moved to this act chiefly by my desire to commemorate my late wife, Lucy Kimball Morton, to whom the scheme of Grace House when it was first submitted to her by her Pastor, at once became dear, and who, before her death, had expressed her intention of coöperating personally in its realization; and I am also anxious to recognize by this gift the obligations of men of business, whom God has blessed in their business enterprises, to acknowledge their indebtedness to Him by gifts for the benefit of their fellow-men."

Mr. Morton's gift was afterwards known as the Memorial House, and the name Grace House was given to a building erected by Miss Wolfe.

A few weeks after the Year Book of 1872 was printed, during the preparations for the festivities of Christmas, Grace Chapel was destroyed by fire, and Mr. Morton's gift, pending the erection of Grace House, came into immediate use.

Already, in 1871, Dr. Potter had been so seriously considered for the bishopric of the new diocese of Central Pennsylvania, that Bishop Stevens had written to him from Philadelphia upon the matter. He had said in substance that if Dr. Howe were not elected on the first ballot,

Dr. Potter would almost certainly be elected on the second. Bishop Stevens confessed his preference for Dr. Howe. "Both of you," he said, "are my friends. Both are qualified for the high position. To each of you I could cordially give the right hand of fellowship, and to either of you entrust, as it were, my daughter-diocese in the full assurance that you would surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt you. Notwithstanding this, you will not, I am sure, take any offence when I say that my first choice is Dr. Howe. He has been over a quarter of a century connected with this diocese, and with all its missionary and parochial work. He was, as you know, the staunch friend of your father, whose policy he fully endorsed and whose confidence he richly enjoyed. He has been my most intimate friend and counsellor, and has fully supported all my plans. What I particularly desire to know now is whether in case you are selected you will accept. It has been said again and again that you would not leave Grace Church for such a diocese, and hence it would be a waste of time to elect you. I do not ask that you should pledge yourself to accept if elected, but I do ask for my private information, whether there are any insuperable objections to your accepting, if chosen?"

There were no insuperable objections, Dr. Potter replied, so far as his parochial engagements were concerned, but there were two invincible difficulties: one was his "profound reluctance to be brought into even seeming competition with Dr. Howe"; the other was his "conscious unfitness for the Episcopal office." These difficulties coöperated with Bishop Stevens' preference, and Dr. Howe was duly elected.

Bishop Coxe, whom Dr. Potter had consulted, expressed himself on the question of duty involved. "I once took the ground that an *intimation beforehand*, such as you have received, was a providential opportunity to forbid. Had an election been thrown on you, without any previous opportunity of this kind, the case would be widely differ-

ent. But to have such an opportunity afforded and *not* to forbid is to commit one's self, it seems to me, to any result that Providence may ordain. The spirit of the Scriptures, and all precedent in the history of the Church, justifies a *nolo episcopari* at the previous stage.

"Now as to the wisdom of such action. I do think that before one is 40 years old (even 45) he may claim the right to be let alone in his presbyterate — provided he is consulted before an election. The presbyterate is of divine origin as well as the episcopate, and while one has an unfulfilled mission in this order, it is presumably his duty to 'make full proof of this ministry.'"

The spring of 1873 brought with it another episcopal election into which the name of Dr. Potter entered. Early in May, Mr. Robert M. Mason of Boston wrote to his friend Mr. James S. Amory of the same city concerning possible candidates. "The idea of Dr. Dix for this diocese," he said, "is intolerable. These men who would like to impose him upon us do not seek the good of the Church, or its peace, or the happiness of the Rev. gentleman in question, for he would have a harder time than even the late long-to-be-lamented incumbent had. We have had two meetings at this house — I was sorry you could not be here. They were earnest, and full of anxiety on account of the general position of things. Dr. Vinton positively refuses to be a candidate and in such terms that he must be dropped entirely from consideration. Yesterday, after much discussion, we unanimously declared Revd. Henry C. Potter as our choice, and he is now our Candidate. You may be moved to see him on the subject, but I think you had better not. He cannot, of course, say what will be his decision, on a chance, and I *would not allow him* to say that he will not be a Candidate. We are, my dear Amory, — I say with deep anxiety — in a very critical position. I fear the result of the doings of the Convention. A new Standing Committee was also determined on. Mr. Newton, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Winthrop

and many others present. Dr. Wharton is absent. *Keep away from Dr. Potter.* We must try to elect him by a handsome vote, and then leave it to the care of a higher power."

Mr. Amory did not deem it wise to follow this advice. He sent Mr. Mason's letter to Dr. Potter.

"Many thanks," said Dr. Potter, "for your note and its enclosure, which I herewith return. You do not ask from me any response, but it seems to me I am none the less bound in honor to make one. When our friend, Mr. Winthrop, was last in my study, he said, speaking of Dr. Haight's declination, that the time for a man to say '*Nolo episcopari*' was before his election, not afterwards. There is, nevertheless, something not quite modest in declining honors before they are offered to one, but I *must* say *nolo episcopari*, and say it from the bottom of my heart.

"You know how I love my old home, and how I have counted it no small honor to have been associated with the church in Boston and the Diocese of Massachusetts, even in a very inferior position; but all the more because I know how 'weighty a charge and how great a dignity' (as our Ordinal has it) are involved in the office of the Episcopate of such a Diocese, do I shrink from it in unaffected dismay. I think the last 48 hours (since some one sent me a newspaper paragraph giving me the *first inkling* of this matter) have been amongst the most wretched of my life!

"If Dr. Dix has withdrawn, why not return to Dr. Vinton. I trust he will reconsider his determination and consent to stand."

On the same day, he wrote to Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, who had been his neighbor in Longwood, and who had addressed to him the same information as Mr. Amory. "Your kindness," he said, "in writing, gives me an opportunity to say that I am not a candidate for your vacant bishopric — that the use of my name in connection with it is wholly without my knowledge or consent and that I cannot re-

gard myself as qualified for such grave responsibilities as such a post involves.

"You, who know how I and mine love Boston, even though you do not know that the episcopate of Massachusetts has always seemed to me the most enviable position in our American Church, can understand what it costs me to say this. But all the more I feel bound to say it, though even if I were silent there would be, I presume, only the remotest chance of my election. I must not allow my name to impede or embarrass your action."

In spite of this letter, Dr. Potter's name was brought before the Convention. The other candidate was Dr. James De Koven. When it became evident that neither could be elected, a compromise was made and the contending parties united in the selection of Dr. Benjamin Henry Paddock.

CHAPTER VII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF A DOWN-TOWN CHURCH

1873–1878

Dr. Potter's endeavors to bring his people to a deeper seriousness and a more fraternal consideration of their social duty were emphasized by the panic of 1873.

The northeastern section of the United States, especially New England and New York, were feeling the effects of recent dealings with the South and West. The war with the South had been enormously expensive, and it had been followed by speculative adventures in the West which were almost as costly. The opening of new lands, the extending of new railways and the developing of new industries had brought the country into debt.

In September, 1873, the financial storm broke upon the nation. Jay Cooke, financier of the Northern Pacific railway, failed, and general ruin followed. The building of railways suddenly ceased and a number of those already built went into the hands of receivers. The iron mills shut their doors. "Hard times" closed in upon the people.

These conditions increased the difficulties of Dr. Potter's work, but they served also to emphasize his interest in the problem of the poor and to lead him to study it more carefully.

"The widespread and exceptional destitution of the Winter of 1873–1874," he said in his Sixth Annual Account of the Parish Work, "has started many questions which the continued stagnation of the present winter makes pressing and important ones. There has been a very general and timely discussion of the whole matter of aiding

and relieving the poor, and a growing feeling that many of the methods heretofore employed have been of doubtful expediency. The anticipated hardships of the unemployed poor of last winter, and the well-meant but not always wise means set on foot to relieve them, have eventuated in consequences which have been in many instances discouraging, if not positively alarming. It has been found that promiscuous gifts of free food and lodging made New York the winter rendezvous of the idle and vagrant classes from almost all parts of the country; and that kindly benefactions were, in many instances, a liberal premium paid for the privilege of supporting the paupers of other communities. This was the fruit of a charity regulated by sentimentality rather than by judgment, and no sooner have its consequences become apparent than there seems danger of a reaction, first into something like hostility toward a class which has imposed upon us, and then of indifference toward the poor generally.

"One or two considerations, therefore, need to be borne in mind, whether we deal with the poor directly or through the agency of others; and I venture to state them here, because they are those under the governance of which it has been my desire and endeavor that the work of our Parish Societies should be carried on.

"1. It should be remembered, in the first place, that no rule for helping poor people, any more than any other people, can be a sweeping one of universal application. There is one formula, which some persons are fond of appealing to, which limits their charity to the 'deserving poor.' The deserving poor are almost as hard to find as the deserving rich, and either class is equally mythical. Had it been applied by the Divine Friend who supremely helps us all, the infinite pity and succor of Calvary would not have been vouchsafed to anybody. Of course, there are as a matter of fact many persons who are sick or needy or embarrassed through no fault of their own. But there are many others who have been improvident, or deceived,

or erring — many who have been betrayed by false friends or their own appetites, whom we cannot straightway turn our backs upon because they are not deserving. We may rightly recognize the first claim of the frugal and industrious, but there are others who have a claim upon us besides.

"2. But having said this, it needs to be remembered that among these others are not those who are chronic idlers and often hereditary paupers — the children, as Dr. Elisha Harris has so strikingly shown in his Examination of the Poor Houses of this State, of those who were professional paupers before them. This class demands a treatment, partly reformatory and partly punitive, of its own; but it does not demand and is not entitled to the indiscriminate benefactions which in the streets and at our doors its persistent and brazen solicitations too often secure for it. When we give a dole in the street mainly to get rid of importunity, we must remember that we are helping to multiply, not to get rid of, the pauper class. Nay, more, we must remember that we are taking from those who need our help to give to those who do not need. We cannot, indeed, say hastily to unemployed men or women who ask our alms, 'Go and find work, east or west, and support yourselves,' but we can remember that work is to be had for both men and women, and that there are a great many instances in which we are doing a far truer and more Christian charity to help people to find it.

"For when all are maintaining themselves who can, and when the idle and the vicious are no longer draining the resources of our charitable associations, there still remains a very numerous class who have the clearest claim upon our sympathy and help. The sick, the crippled, the blind or imbecile, or otherwise incapacitated; poor women and untaught childhood; children and young girls left orphaned or alone in this great city; persons of gentle nurture and antecedents who have met with reverses; all these at our doors, and then the family of the stranger and the missionary beyond them, alike have a claim. Do

what we can, we can scarcely hope to meet these claims upon us; and until we do, the claims of those whose wants are the result of their own indolent choice ought resolutely to be disallowed.

"But in disallowing them let us remember that there is something worse than even the sentimentalism of indiscriminate and thoughtless charity. And that is the cynicism and indifference which sneers at all charity alike — that cynicism in which 'fraud' and 'humbug' and 'imposture' are the cheap and easy terms with which it vents its insensibility and coarsely attempts to excuse its own selfish meanness. Better the most 'gushing' improvidence of charity than that temper, into which, nevertheless, familiarity with the miseries of a vast community and the mistakes of those who are striving to alleviate those miseries may easily betray us. Let us scrutinize and reform our methods, but let us take care how, in doing it, we extinguish our Christian sympathies."

These counsels and admonitions, antedating the formation of the Charity Organization Society, and addressed to a community as yet meagrely instructed in the principles of effective dealing with the problem of the poor, bear witness to the combination of sense with sympathy whereby the rector of Grace Church met the perplexities of those difficult years. They reveal also his characteristic equipoise. He was not overborne by a perception on the one side of the miseries of the poor, or by a perception on the other side of the indifference of the rich. Seeing clearly the perils of undiscriminating benefaction, he saw also, with equal clearness, the perils of a charity so careful that it could be described as dispensing "the milk of human kindness — sterilized." The advice is charged with an abiding wisdom whereby it stands true to this day, through all improvement of charitable method, and might be reprinted, with scarcely the change of a word, by the Charity Organization Society in its next annual report.

The significance of this practical interest is emphasized

by its quiet remoteness from the ecclesiastical perturbations of the time. The mind of the church was engaged upon quite different matters. In October, 1873, Dr. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, came to New York as a delegate to the World's Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. He brought to that assembly a letter of sympathy from the Archbishop. In the pursuance of his fraternal mission he participated one Sunday morning in the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in the administration of the Holy Communion, together with other ministers, most of whom lacked episcopal ordination. By a curious coincidence, highly interesting in the light of the protest made in 1913 against a similar fraternization in Kikuyu, it was an invalided bishop of Zanzibar who brought the matter to the official attention of the Bishop of New York! Bishop Tozer, being in the city, addressed a letter on the subject to Bishop Horatio Potter, regretting that the Dean of Canterbury had so far forgotten his dignity and duty as "to officiate with ministers of various denominations in a communion service which differed materially from that of the English and American Prayer Books."

Thereupon Dr. Cummins, Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, announced that he himself had done a like thing at a similar service in the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. And when Bishop Potter, in November, published a letter in which he sustained and commended the Bishop of Zanzibar, Bishop Cummins resigned his office, and the Reformed Episcopal Church came presently into being.

Not only did Henry Potter refrain from any public intermingling with this contention, but he took no part in the organization, in 1874, of the Church Congress. The idea of such an undertaking was brought back from England by Dr. Harwood of New Haven, who had attended a session of such a Congress there. It found favor with Dr. John Cotton Smith in New York, and with Dr. Phillips Brooks in Boston. It did not, however, find favor with Bishop Horatio Potter. He not only declined to preside over

such an assembly at its first meeting, held in New York in October, 1874, but he issued a Pastoral Letter against it.

Several years before (March 6, 1872) the Bishop had written to the rector of Grace regarding some such conference. "I am by no means sure," he said, "as to the use or safety of any general meetings of the clergy and laity for general debates on matters and things in general. A great deal of imprudent talk would be indulged in, and foolish things would be proposed, and then, if the bishops did not concur, it would be a new grievance. . . . In the conferences which the bishops have started in England, they retain absolute control of the topics to be introduced and of the measures they will sanction. It is their only safe way. But I could not probably do it here." In a postscript he added: "I believe that you, in a quiet way, could do much to discourage the conference, but it is not one of the things which I care to ask."

The Bishop was of the same opinion still. The General Convention, he said, is the proper place for discussion. The men who are in charge of this matter, he added, are "a crowd of excited and declamatory spirits." He predicted that the movement would be "repudiated by a large portion of our conservative and candid churchmen." He said that this was also the position of many of his episcopal brethren with whom he had communicated.

"Is it so?" replied Dr. Washburn in an answering pamphlet. "Is it so indeed? What shall the church do if her chief pastors take upon themselves this authority?"

What the church actually did, so far as it was represented by the promoters of the Congress, was to go quietly ahead and hold it. Dr. Vinton presided. Bishop Whipple, speaking at the Holy Communion with which the sessions began, reminded the brethren that "one word of love and sympathy was worth a thousand witty ones." The speakers discussed "The Limits of Legislation as to Doctrine and Ritual," "Clerical Education," and "The Relation of this Church to Other Religious Bodies." The spirit of the

debates disarmed suspicion. The fact that by the rules of the Congress no resolutions were adopted and no questions put to vote, and that nobody was responsible for the opinions of his neighbor, made it a place where men of very different temperaments and traditions could meet for frank discourse. The effect of it was to relieve a tense and perilous situation.

The absence of Henry Potter from public appearance in these current controversies is capable of different interpretations. It may have been occasioned by considerations of prudent policy, disinclining him to commit himself to radical propositions, low-church or broad-church. It may have been governed by a sense of loyalty to his ecclesiastical chief, who was not only his bishop but his uncle. It is likely, however, that one of the determining motives was a distrust of the importance of the things at stake as compared with the plain importance of the practical work in which he was unceasingly employed. His mind was administrative rather than inventive. He had his father's dislike of turmoil and debate. He was a low-churchman in his feeling about ritual, and a broad-churchman in his sympathy with freedom of thought and speech, but he was never, in either direction, a radical. His gift of leadership was neither ecclesiastical nor doctrinal, but social and practical.

This is the temperament which makes good bishops. So they believed, about that time, in Iowa. The Convention of that diocese, meeting in Davenport on December 9th, 1874, having before them two names, that of Dr. Huntington of Worcester, Massachusetts, and that of Dr. Potter, chose Dr. Potter on the second ballot. He telegraphed, however, the next day, that he could not possibly accept, being bound to New York by parochial duties which he could not leave. "His congregation," said one of the New York newspapers, "are rejoiced to hear it, and the news also delights the large circle of the Doctor's friends outside his flock." And the editorial ventured a suggestion looking to the future: "Should there be a vacancy in

the course of nature, in the position now filled by his uncle, Bishop Potter of this city, there is no man more likely to be called to that exalted place."

Meanwhile, the parochial endeavors to help the poor proceeded with an activity increased to meet the increased need, and in spite of serious handicaps. The financial embarrassments of the time affected all classes, the rich as well as the poor, and held back or diminished the contributions of many generous supporters of the parish work. Grace House had not yet been erected; and Grace Chapel was still in ashes.

In 1875 Dr. Potter informed the congregation that it had been ascertained that "the ground and buildings in the rear of the old site of the Chapel could be purchased, and that the parish could thus secure sufficient space for the groups of buildings which, in accordance with the plan submitted in our annual report some three or four years ago, it was proposed to erect." This purchase was accordingly made, and building operations were at once begun.

"The generosity of a single individual," says the rector, "enabled us to secure a Parsonage House for the minister in charge, and the vestry proceeded to consummate the purchase of houses and lots in East Thirteenth Street, which, taken in connection with the site of the former Chapel, gave us an area of 210 feet in depth and of 62½ feet in width, with two advantageous fronts: one on Fourteenth Street, and the other on Thirteenth Street. Plans were at once secured for a Sunday School Building having a frontage on Fourteenth Street, and for a Chapel Building to be erected in connection with it and to occupy the centre of the lot."

"When these buildings are finished three-fourths of our original plan, *i.e.* Grace Chapel, Grace Hall, and Grace Parsonage, will be a realized fact; and as the means for the remaining fourth part (to be known as Grace House) are already provided, we may hope, ere long, to see the whole a solid and completed fact."

The first Grace Chapel, erected during Dr. Taylor's rectorship, stood on the corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-third Street. In 1856, the congregation worshipping therein organized itself into an independent parish, under the name of the Church of the Incarnation. A second Grace Chapel was therefore built in Fourteenth Street, but at a time when worship rather than work was the ideal of parish life. When Dr. Potter came with his spirit of social service, and imparted his enthusiasm to his congregation, and set them to work for the common welfare, "it was found," as he said afterwards, "that the building, though cost and pains had not been spared in rearing it, was but ill-adapted for the uses of free-church, or, indeed, of any church work, and was wholly wanting in those manifold conveniences which the growth of church life among us had made indispensable to the manifold forms of parochial activity.

"In the construction of the building everything had been sacrificed to a large auditorium. There were no conveniences for parochial or other societies, and even the accommodations of the Sunday School, which were provided in the recesses of a damp and dark basement, were such as to discourage those most interested in its prosperity. The young men and women of the parent church who offered their services as teachers found that their catechetical functions had to be exercised amid surroundings that recalled the catacombs, and in an atmosphere which seemed likely, to sensitive constitution, to threaten the reënacting of the primitive martyrdoms. In a word, beyond the not altogether convenient arrangements of the main assemblage-room itself, much about the building was calculated rather to hinder than to foster growth and prosperity."

The fire, accordingly, while it was for the moment a calamity, was a disguised blessing. The work of the parish societies was temporarily disordered; certain "vexatious litigation" hindered the vestry from securing a site upon

which both Grace Chapel and Grace House might be erected. In the meantime, the Chapel in East Twenty-third Street, given by Mr. Morton, served as a meeting-place for the societies.

During the winter of 1875–1876, while the vestry were clearing away the legal obstacles and making arrangements for the erection of the new building, Dr. and Mrs. Potter, in the hospitable company of Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, made a journey to the East. The impressions of this journey were pleasantly recorded in a little book which Dr. Potter published in 1877, under the title, "The Gates of the East: a Winter in Egypt and Syria."

The chapters are in the manner, though not in the form, of "letters home." They are in no debt to guide-books, and contain no discussions of archæology and no elaborate descriptions. They are occupied, for the most part, with accounts of personal experience. Thus they have some measure of the revealing quality of familiar correspondence.

It is significant, for instance, that nothing in Alexandria interested him so much as the Kaiserwerth Hospital and its administration by deaconesses. He remembered, indeed, the greatness of Alexandria, and thought of Kingsley's "Hypatia," and looked at Pompey's Pillar; an Arab runner reminded him of Elijah running before the chariot of Ahab, and a youth examining a brass lamp in a shop recalled the story of Aladdin; but the patients in the hospital, and the "incomparable beauty and benignity" of the service of their attendants found him enthusiastic. "The simple, robust, practical way in which deaconesses went about their work was a positive refreshment to behold." It is plain between the lines that he is considering how he can improve American deaconesses according to this pattern.

He watched the Dancing Dervishes rather sadly, and found their exercises a dismal "misdirection of spiritual aspirations." But he admired the attentiveness of the worshippers in the Mosque of Mohammed Ali, who paid

no need to the entrance of strangers; he was impressed by the expression of their faces, earnest and intent, as if they were actively seeing the invisible. He was much amused, in the College of Cairo, by "two young gentlemen who, having reached a point of difference as to the interpretation of the Koran, were engaged, with considerable vigor both of speech and action, in beating their ideas into each other's heads. Having continued this process for some time, and being apparently as far from a harmonious conclusion of their dispute as when they began, suddenly, without a moment's warning, each spat in the other's face, and then they both straightway sat down in the most amicable fashion, as if the exchange of insults had somehow cleared the air and brought them to a state of cordial and complete theological agreement."

One day, in company with an English missionary, he attended a Coptic wedding. Several Coptic priests were present, and in the interval before the ceremony Dr. Potter's friend endeavored to explain to these ecclesiastics what distinguished guests they had the good fortune to be entertaining. "Tell them, Hassan," said he to the interpreter, "that we have bishops, too." This being duly communicated, "the three priests bowed their heads and murmured something in unison. 'What do they say, Hassan?' impatiently demanded my companion. 'They say,' said Hassan, 'It is well: God be praised.' Whereupon my friend, eager to deepen the favorable impression which he concluded he had made, went on: 'Tell them, Hassan, that my companion is the son of a bishop.' This, also, was duly translated into Arabic by our facile attendants. Whereupon, much to my friend's surprise, the countenances of the three priests immediately fell, and for a few moments wore an expression in which grave disapprobation was evidently struggling with courtesy." It took a long process of explanation to make the Copts understand the domestic differences between the episcopal households of the East and those of the West.

It distressed him much to find Egyptian children so dirty, and the distress was not mitigated by learning that the dirt was due not only to negligence but to superstition. The "evil eye," they said, is drawn towards that which is attractive; the ragged and dirty child may escape it. It was a grief to him to find men working without smiling. In the sugar factory at Rhoda, "we met scores of men and hundreds of boys, but I never caught a smile upon the face of any one of them." Egypt was under the rule of the Khedive Ismail. Railways had been built, the customs system had been reorganized, the post office established, light-houses constructed, schools opened; in 1869 the Suez Canal was completed. But the enormous expense of these changes came as an intolerable burden on the taxpayer. Everything was taxed. "When, in order to satisfy royal extravagance at home and bond-holding creditors abroad, every infant is taxed to an amount equal to one third of a soldier's wage for a month the instant the infant is born, and then, to discourage the crime of infanticide which such a system of taxation inevitably provoked, every infant that dies, no matter how soon after its birth, is taxed through its parents an amount equal to half a month's wages of an ordinary soldier, the dreadful and desperate wickedness of the situation may be appreciated." In spite of this taxation, the nation was bankrupt, and the English and the French, for the protection of the bondholders, were establishing the Dual Control. It seemed to Dr. Potter that the supreme need was for religion. "The Christian nations of the North and West must furnish Egypt, if they would save it from something more utter and remediless than financial ruin, with other capital than machinery, or military training, or money. Its prince and its pashas want a wholesome substratum of sound moral ideas."

The travelers began the Syrian part of their journey by landing at Jaffa, where they entered at once into that process of disillusionment which awaits the reflective

pilgrim. The Holy Land, indeed, remained as in the old time, but the holy places had either been destroyed in the countless wars of the intervening centuries, or buried out of sight beneath accumulated superstitions. The house of Simon the Tanner, the scene of Peter's vision, the rooms of the industrious Dorcas who made garments for the poor, were visited by credulous tourists, but Dr. Potter could not forget that "Bertrand de la Broquière, who visited Jaffa in the fifteenth century, has recorded that he found the city so utterly razed that no solitary wall or roof was left, and that his only shelter from the burning sun was a rude reed hut." Nevertheless, "as you ride on, just beyond yonder ridge, lies Philistia, and embowered in trees to your left, gleam the white roofs of that Lydda where once Peter tarried among the Christian converts of the village, and where he healed the bed-ridden Æneas. And when one lifts his eyes, there, just before him as it seems, rise those Judean hills that hide Jerusalem from his sight, standing upon the slopes of which Joshua looked down upon the fierce fight which his countrymen were making with the Amorites in the memorable valley at his feet, and from whence, watching the changing fortunes of the day, he cried, 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon!' Amid such scenes what does it matter that the foot of the Moslem profanes the sacred soil?"

He found that it mattered much. The Moslem, the Jew and the Christian, commonplace, impudent and dirty, came in between the devout pilgrim and every sacred scene. "How shall I express the sense of shame, the utter loathing at the spectacle of bitter incongruity which now salutes the pilgrim at the tomb of Christ, with which one who comes there for the first time must, it seems to me, be filled?" Preaching a few weeks later at the consecration of the American Church in Rome, he expressed again his feeling of deep disappointment. "Is there any sadder spectacle than that ancient city, once the home

of the Master and His disciples, hallowed as the scene of His mighty works and His mightier death, given up to-day to the religion of the Moslem and the dominion of the Turk? Yes, there is a sadder sight even than this; and it is the sight of those contending Christian sects whom a sneering Mohammedan holds back ofttimes, with force of arms, from tearing each other in pieces, and whose shameless rivalries and dissensions profane alike the sepulchre and the birthplace of their common Lord." He recalled how, in the seventh century, "when Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, surrendered the holy city to the Moslem Caliph, he found only an old man seated on the ground eating dried dates and drinking only water, — a man having but one single ambition, and that to win converts to the faith of Mohammed."

The contrast seemed to him a pertinent lesson in the presence of the history of Christian Rome. "We who have reared this holy house to God's honor," he said at the consecration of St. Paul's, "and consecrated it under the name of His latest called but noblest apostle, let us not forget that its presence in these streets is an impertinence, and its costliest adornments an empty mockery, unless here there is manifested a single and supreme desire to bear a ceaseless testimony to the name and work of Christ. Not to gratify any merely national pride, not to achieve any merely sectarian triumph, not to secure a safe retreat from within which to hurl either taunt or defiance at Christians of other whatsoever name, but simply to witness for their Lord, have they who have toiled and they who have given up builded these hallowed walls."

In spite of all disappointment, however, Dr. Potter found his pilgrimage to the Holy Land a profitable and even precious experience. Discussing in the last pages of his book the question whether such a journey is worth while, he advised all travellers, and especially clergymen, to take it. "I find that everything in Palestine that at

all shocked me, or jarred upon my sense of reverence, has, somehow, faded out of my memory, while Olivet and Bethany and the hillsides of Bethlehem are to-day a living vision of luminous and beautiful reality. A few Sundays ago it was my lot in the order of morning service to read the Second Lesson of the day, with its history of St. Peter's vision at Joppa, and of his visit to Cornelius the Centurion at Cæsarea, and as I did so, the whole coast of the Mediterranean lived in my mind's eye as it must needs in that unchanging land have been present to the eye of the Apostle himself."

In the new strength of this fruitful experience, Dr. Potter resumed his duties. On September 25, 1876, the new Grace Chapel was consecrated. The rector preached the sermon.

"As we have placed the font," he said, "at the threshold of this Chapel, in token that baptism is the door and gateway into the fellowship of the Church of God, so have we placed Grace Hall, the building through which we have passed on our way hither, at the threshold of Grace Chapel, in token that the Church's godly training and nurture is the threshold of those sacraments and ordinances which she offers for the strengthening and refreshing of more adult life. We have felt that this work of teaching and training was not to be thrust under the ground, nor done in a corner. We have felt that amid all the competitions of that secular education which is going on about us, it demanded the best appliances and the most generous provision of every suitable, tasteful and approved help. We have felt, too, that those who were willing to labor, to plan, and to contrive for the bettering of poor children, for the relief of the sick, for the succor of the neglected and destitute, — to do, in a word, the work which has been done for the past eight years by the various societies connected with this parish — were entitled to every convenience and accommodation which their blessed work demanded. And feeling this, we have aimed, in the building

which immediately adjoins this, to provide such appliances and conveniences, according to the best models, and in ample and generous measure.

"And so, too, in this Chapel itself. It has been felt by those who have reared it that a free church ought to be no less costly and spacious, or richly adorned, than if it were designed for the use of those who through an ownership of the sittings are supposed to acquire a certain right of property in the house of God. It would have been easy, when the former edifice was destroyed by fire, to have parted with its site at a very considerable advance upon the original cost, and to have erected, in a less expensive neighborhood, a much cheaper structure. But it was felt that this would be an economy too dearly purchased; and instead, therefore, of any diminution of outlay, there has been a considerable increase. Additional land has been acquired, the services of skilled architects and superior mechanics have been secured, and the whole work, which has involved an expenditure of nearly $100,000, has been done with the very best materials, and with constant reference to honesty, thoroughness, and beauty of result. Whatever else may be said of this building, it may safely be said that we offer to God, this morning, nothing that is cheap or mean or inferior."

Grace House, at 127 East Thirteenth Street, was added to Grace Chapel and Grace Hall in 1877. It was immediately made the headquarters of a missionary work among the Germans, and rooms were provided in it for a German pastor, who was now added to the clerical staff. A free reading room was opened for working men, and a day nursery for working-women. In the nursery a hundred children found shelter who might have been playing in the street, or locked up in rooms where there were open fireplaces or hot stoves.

In the midst of the social ministrations and of these provisions of buildings and appliances for the better performance of them, Dr. Potter continued his endeavor

to protect his people from what he called "the fallacy of a false perspective." The peril of organization is the attachment of an exaggerated value to rules and methods. The temptation is to forget on the one hand that the methods, being for the purpose of the accomplishment of human results, must be freely adapted to the incredible variety of human nature; and to forget on the other hand that the effectiveness of any method depends upon the personality which is behind it, and that personality needs the strength and the tenderness which are best nurtured in religion.

One of these temptations he met in a sermon on Institutionalism. He emphasized the family idea in social work. There must be institutions, almshouses, shelters, hospitals; but the ultimate purpose of social endeavor must be the maintenance and enrichment of family life. The aim of the social worker must not be to get the members of the family out of it but to improve the condition of housing, rent, wages, sanitation, so that the members of the family may remain in it. It is made plain in the sermon that at that time many hospitals were in such a condition that statistics could be brought to show that the sick were quite as likely to get well even in the rooms of tenements as in the hospital wards. It is also stated in so many words that "no rich man has yet been found willing to try the effect of putting within the reach of our poorer classes decently constructed and adequately lighted, drained and ventilated homes." But the main point is that "the most potent medicine in any human ailment is human sympathy; and that medicine is not for sale by apothecaries. Explain it how we will, there is something in the most bungling ministries of the meanest home, which, in struggling with disease or facing suffering, is calculated to give a sick man heart. He is in an atmosphere in which he is not a mere patient with only a number to distinguish him and a ticket to describe him." The preacher quoted the words of an English social worker attending

to the children in English institutions of charity, "What these children really need is a little mothering."

Thus he said on another occasion about this time, "in view of the approaching completion and occupancy of our free Chapel and the Buildings connected with it, I venture to add a word as to that personal interest and activity on the part of the congregation of the Parish Church and Chapel, which are so indispensable if our new buildings are to be in any real sense a blessing to the community in the midst of which they are placed. After all, Churches, Chapels, Sunday School Buildings, Houses of Mercy or of Christian Recreation, and the like can only hope to be powers of blessing when they are made the centre of a widely radiating and constantly painstaking Christian sympathy and activity. There is no converting or educating or ennobling power in mere piles of brick and mortar. The most splendid church, the most thoroughly equipped Sunday School or other Parish Buildings are only so many costly impertinences, unless they are heated and lighted with something better than gas, and something more warmth-diffusing than the most ingenious contrivance for the circulation of hot air. Nor is it eloquence, nor paid service of whatever sort, that is wanted so much as the living and loving hearts of living men and women, who have learned that there is nothing so worthy of their doing or so rich in its reward as work done for Christ's sake for those who, however careless or indifferent, are His redeemed children."

In the midst of this insistence on social service, Dr. Potter was emphasizing the essential necessity of the life of the Spirit. Beside Grace Hall and Grace House stood Grace Chapel, the symbol of worship, the sanctuary of the divine presence, witnessing to the fact that they who would serve the community well must first seek strength from on high. He rejoiced that it was a free church, and that it was thus a contribution to the free-church movement, which Dr. Muhlenberg had set forward in New

York and in which Dr. Potter heartily believed. He liked the democracy of it. In a parish which was still called fashionable, and whose parish church was committed to the system of rented pews, it pleased him to have this free chapel, testifying, as he said, to the "brotherhood of humanity." Yet the freedom of it was only a detail. The supreme concern was to reënforce the parish industries by the uplift, the consecration, and the power of which the Chapel was the symbol. The way into Grace Chapel, as he said, was through Grace Hall; but the way out was into Grace Hall again, from the altar to the classroom and the workroom, from the Mount of Transfiguration to the case of need at the foot of the hill. "Why could we not cast him out?" asked the apostles. "Because this kind," He said, "cometh forth only by prayer." The rector repeated the lesson in sermon and in conference, by word and by example. He exalted the central significance of religion, and maintained the vital relation between prayer and social efficiency.

He preached about this time on the American Sunday, calling on his people to maintain it in the face of an invasion of foreign customs. "Whose country," he asks, "is this, and what language does it speak, and by what sacred traditions is it hallowed? Who first sought it out and settled it — subduing its wilderness and founding its cities and opening its seaports? From whence got it its law and faith and its Christian civilization? Who have hallowed its hills and its valleys by their blood, shed once and yet again in its defence? Call it fanaticism, call it intolerance, call it political infatuation, what you will. I venture to declare that it is high time that our brethren of other lands, and other races, and other religions, or no religion at all, understood clearly and distinctly that while we welcome them to assimilation to our national life, America is for Americans, and that while we will welcome every foreigner . . . to our shores, they are our shores not his, and are to be ruled by our traditions, not those of other people."



Mrs. Alonzo Potter
(Sarah Maria Nott)

He pleaded for the resistance of Christian men and women against encroachments on the quiet of the old-fashioned Sunday. "Though a certain liberty in things indifferent might, perhaps, make no great difference, if you and I were to take it, we will be careful how and when he takes it, not merely for our own sakes, but equally and always for our brother's sake. Instead of driving to church on Sunday we shall be willing to walk, and so let men-servants and cattle rest, as well as ourselves. Instead of giving dinner-parties on Sunday, we shall try to let the cook below stairs realize that it is Sunday, as well as the master above stairs. And by the retirement that we cultivate and the books and papers that are seen in our own hands, and placed in the hands of our guests or our children, we shall strive to indicate that there is a difference between Sunday and other days, instead of striving rather to obliterate that difference."

While the parish was being organized more and more completely for social work, the parish church was at the same time being adorned and beautified. In 1878 the rector preached on "Cost and Beauty in Christian Worship." "It is commonly argued that whatever may have been the appropriateness of that earlier devotion which built and beautified the temple, it is superannuated, inappropriate, and even (as some tell us) unwarranted. . . . It is not to adorn temples and garnish holy places that Christianity is called nowadays, but to rear hospitals, and shelter orphans and feed the hungry. It is a diviner thing to send bread to some starving household, or to minister in some plague-stricken Memphis or New Orleans, to some fevered sufferer, than to build all the altars and adorn all the sanctuaries that ever were reared! No! it is not — not one whit diviner — noble and charitable as such service surely is." "For the spending of great sums in the increase of the glory of the sanctuary is to bear witness to man's recognition of the majesty of God, and to man's desire to give Him of his best." This is "the very

essence of the cross of Christ — this is the gospel itself — a love that does not count the cost, a sacrifice that does not haggle about the outlay, a devotion so utter and so absolute that were the whole realm of nature ours with which to repay it, our best and choicest would still be too poor to give." "We have not to-day," he said, "in all this broad land of ours, one single ecclesiastical building that is really worthy of the enormous wealth of the country, or of the widespread luxury of its inhabitants. We may well rejoice therefore and be thankful when any Christian disciple strives anywhere to do anything that tells out to God and man, whether in wood or stone, or gold, or precious stones, that such an one would fain consecrate to Him the best and costliest that human hands can buy."

The sermon had special reference to the improvements which had been made in the church in the summer of 1878, when it was "garnished with precious stones" and "enriched by costly sculptures," and when the beauty of the new Holy Table was perplexing some parishioners. Grace Chantry was built that year by the munificence of Miss Wolfe. It was a further contribution to the devotional side of the parish life.

Looking back over the ten years of his rectorship, Dr. Potter found abundant reason for gratitude and encouragement. The first Annual Report had contained thirty-two pages, the tenth Report contained sixty-seven. There were now a dozen active parochial agencies. Services were conducted in German in Grace Chapel, with diligent pastoral visitation among the people, and instruction of the children. The Day Nursery was open daily from seven in the morning till seven in the evening. St. Catherine's Guild had been organized. Its members were poor women, under the direction of a sister-in-charge. Its work was to nurse and otherwise to care for the sick in the homes of poverty. The idea was that the women themselves, out of their own experience, knew best "how to do the most with the limited means of nursing met with

in our crowded tenements." They met monthly and received instruction in the care of the sick.

In all this a quiet but effective work was being done for the rich as well as for the poor, in the influence of the work upon the workers. "They will own," said the rector, "that their hearts have been kept tender and their sympathies quick and warm, when otherwise they might easily have become hard and stiff and cold. They will own that amid the busy eagerness of the world which bids us in so many and imperious ways to think first and only of self, they have learned to think often and generously of others. They will own that in a generation which seems in imminent danger of developing a sentiment of mutual suspicion and animosity between different classes in our social order, they have learned to know more intelligently and so to regard more warmly those from whom in many ways they have been widely separated. They will own that concerning issues which were never so grave as at this hour, and concerning questions which affect the very existence of the family, the church, and civilized society they have learned at least to *think*, and to think earnestly and hopefully. And best of all, I venture to declare for them, that they have learned that life has no sweeter or nobler privilege than that which it offers to a Christian disciple, to be with the Divine Master beside the sorrow and ignorance of which the world is still so full.

"I have no word of boasting to speak," he says, "concerning the work of these past ten years, though, surely, I, if any, might venture to boast of it, since it is the work of others, and not my own. But I do thank God for it, even as they thanked him, for whom in their need it was done."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST FIVE YEARS AT GRACE

1878–1883

Dr. Potter was in England in the early months of 1878, just before the meeting of the Lambeth Conference.

"I was in London," he says ("Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops," p. 206), "in the spring of 1878, with two of my children. I did not intrude upon the Archbishop of Canterbury: first, because of his recent and sore affliction, and second, because the Lambeth Conference was then about to assemble, and Lambeth Palace was besieged by bishops, of whom I was not then one. But the Archbishop found me out in my modest little London hotel, and insisted that my children and I should come and stay at Lambeth.

"I shall never forget the morning of our arrival there. My children were shown at once to their room, and I was conducted to the Archbishop's study. It is now nearly thirty years since I then, for the first time, saw him, but I remember the whole incident as if it had happened yesterday. After a few exchanges of greeting and inquiry of the usual sort, he said, 'You know Craufurd? He stayed under your roof?' And then rising he walked to a desk near by and took from it a photograph of his son. Handing it to me, he said, 'Does this look like him?' And as I stood looking at the bright young features, he turned his back to me, covered his face with his hands, and burst into tears. I have never seen emotion that so deeply moved me. Archbishop Tait had that about him that recalled his Scotch granite. And to see that stately figure

and self-contained prelate swept off his feet, as it were, by the strong tide of parental feeling was a sight never to be forgotten."

Dr. Potter preached on Sunday for Mr. Haweis, whose personal and theological peculiarities had made for him an interesting place in the life of London. "My dear," said Mrs. Tait to her husband that day at luncheon, "do you know where Dr. Potter has been this morning? He has been preaching for Mr. Haweis!" "Well," replied the Archbishop, "I am glad of it. I hope he preached the gospel." It was a suspicion among the orthodox that the gospel was preached rather infrequently in Mr. Haweis's pulpit.

The Annual Reports of the activities of Grace Parish during the last five years of Dr. Potter's rectorship record, among other things, the progress of a work the purpose of which was to provide the poor with some of the summer privileges of the rich.

In 1878 a cottage was rented at Rockaway, and children sent from the heat of the city to the cool shore. "Following the lead," said the rector, "not of any particular newspaper, as has been loudly and frequently claimed, nor of any charitable or philanthropic associations, as has been scarcely less loudly claimed, but of that grand old man who, more than any other, has taught us all, ministers and laymen, societies and newspapers, the best lessons in humane Christian work that we have learned — need I say that I mean the late Dr. Muhlenberg? — we attempted, that year, to do something to ameliorate the condition of the poor, and especially of poor children, in this overcrowded city during the summer time." In 1880 a farm house was provided in the country. The next year the children were taken to the shore again. In 1883 a parishioner gave five thousand dollars towards the purchase of a permanent place, a lot of land was secured at Far Rockaway, and "a building which had hardly been dreamed of in April was occupied soon after the first of August." This was called Grace-House-by-the-Sea.

Meanwhile, by the unfailing generosity of Miss Wolfe, a new Grace House was erected beside the parish church.

"The completion of Grace House, adjoining the Church on the north side, affords an opportunity for a forward movement," said Dr. Potter in 1880, "such as I have long desired. The geographical relations of Grace Church, during the past ten or twelve years, have considerably changed. It is now largely surrounded by those who live in lodgings and who are without the privileges of home life. In New York there is a vast and increasing number of young men and women, many of them of considerable education and refinement, who are earning their own living and who have little to cheer and refresh them while doing so. They sleep in narrow quarters and have many lonely evenings. They have few books or other resources and little congenial society; and they feel bitterly and not unjustly that others, more favored than themselves, might easily do something in these directions to brighten their lives. We have now for the first time the accommodations which enable us as a parish to do something to meet this claim. There are three or four large and handsome rooms in Grace House which it is proposed to devote to those who as members of a club or association may be disposed to make use of them. Two of these will be for women (ladies, if the term be preferred) and the others for men. They will be attractively fitted up with pictures, a library, papers, periodicals, etc., and on the Monday evenings of each month from October 1st to June 1st, it is proposed to have music, or an exhibition of pictures, or a reading, or a familiar lecture on science, as the case may be. The rooms are expected to be open every evening in the week except Sundays, and to be available to any person whose application for membership has been approved by the committee on admissions, and who has paid the admission fee. It is believed that in this way a great deal of pleasure and instruction may be afforded to some whose lives have but little to brighten them, and that those in the parish

who have a gift, whether of song or story, or any other, may here be willing to exercise it, and so find the best reward for such gifts in the happiness they give to others. There will be no attempt to proselyte those who may seek the Club, and the aim will be rather to *illustrate* the spirit of a kindly and brotherly Christianity than formally to inculcate it. But it is believed that such a work will help to win those who are now indifferent to all religious claims, first to understand the spirit of Christ and His Church, and then to welcome their teachings."

The House was also to contain a diet kitchen, a parish reading room, choir room, a vestry room, apartments for the working staff of the day nursery, school rooms, etc. The building was formally opened in January, 1882.

The Association which the rector proposed in connection with Grace House came promptly into being and was named the Junior Century Club. The limit of membership, as the name indicates, was fixed at one hundred, but before the Club had been in existence many months these limits were reached, and were presently extended to meet the needs of others who desired to enter. "There are no religious or ecclesiastical tests of membership," said Dr. Potter. "To make one eligible to membership it is simply necessary that he or she should be of good moral character, and properly certified as coming within the class which the Club seeks to reach. But none the less does such a work witness to the spirit of Him who taught the law of love and the truth of human brotherhood, and none the less does it commend the Church to those who are strangers to her principles and character. They may not understand or agree with her doctrinal standards, but they do understand the interest that aims to brighten and enrich their daily life, and which translates the spirit of Christian sympathy into kindly deeds. Such work tells as surely for God and His Church as any other, and is often effectual in its attractive power just in proportion as it is indirect."

Along with these endeavors to make the church contrib-

ute to the life of the community, proceeded a kind of preaching calculated to develop and direct the spirit of the parish. The sermons on Sunday set the note for the work of the week. In the rector's vision of the ideal parish, great buildings and great congregations were but details. He desired a working parish, in which the sense of privilege and the sense of responsibility should go together, and the motto of the common life should be "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." He perceived also that even an ideal parish is but a detail in an ideal city. He had a splendid vision of a Christian city, in which the parishes of all names should be intent not on the advancement of the parish, nor even of the denomination, nor even of the Christian Church, but on the realization of the City of God in the health, the character, and the happiness of all the citizens.

Dr. Potter published a book of these sermons in 1881, under the title "Sermons of the City."

The beginning of all social progress, he said, is in the soul of the individual. Christianity is first of all "a personal message to the personal soul." He declared that this was his essential message. "If the world is to become better it must become better because we have consented to become better. If vice is to slink away abashed before the reign of a purer and loftier and juster era in politics and in society, it must be because that era has been inaugurated in your breast and in mine."

But the religion of the individual is manifested in social service. The Christian considers the city. It is likely that his first emotion as he looks upon the city with a desire to help will be one of dismay and discouragement. He will see the misery and the wickedness of the poor — "Mulberry Street and the death-dealing barracks that line it"; he will see the moral insensibility of the rich; he will see the apathy of those who belong to the great class between, — "a class which reads much, but not wisely; which is equally open to the social influences which

corrupt it alike from below and from above; which is most easily fired with discontent, and misled by unbelief, and hardened into practical irreligion." The first impulse is to follow the example of Him who when He saw the city wept over it. Then it is to be remembered that He who wept over the city proceeded immediately to do His best to save it. He entered into it, preached to it, warned it, pleaded with it, and died for it.

Jesus filled his followers with His enthusiasm of humanity. "The early disciples of the religion of Christ were the most public-spirited citizens whom the world has known." Where do we stand in comparison with them? "Think what New York might be if we who live in it would only resolve to construe our obligation of citizenship in no narrow and selfish way! Think of the capital, the energy, the swift and fearless intelligence which throb through all the arteries of our busy and complex life! Who will say if only we could gather up all this wealth and force and cleverness and bring it to bear even for one day in each week upon the wrongs and evils of our social and municipal life, what revolutions might not be wrought. There are sores in this body politic of ours which are rotting the very bone and sinew of its life. If you want to know what appalling degradation, what nameless vices, what brazen and reckless crime run riot in the very daytime among us, read the last report of the 'Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor,' and especially so much of it as tells the story of Mr. George Booth's investigations of the homes of the poor. It is a revelation which ought to make every one among us unwilling to sleep in his bed until he has done something to reach and touch and reclaim the lost ones, who within his own precincts, are already fallen into the very pit of damnation, the very crater of hell."

The preacher was not content with general descriptions. He informed his people as to the details. "A tenement house," he said, "is ordinarily from four to six stories high,

having frequently a shop on the first floor, which when used (as is often the case) for the sale of liquor has an entrance from the hallway so that it can evade the Sunday law and give secret access to the inmates of the tenement at all times. Four families occupy each floor, and a set of rooms consists of one or two dark closets used as bedrooms, and a living room twice as long as one of these pews and ten feet wide. The staircase is generally dark and the rooms almost entirely without ventilation. . . . An apartment consists ordinarily of two rooms. One of these, in which all the cooking and washing is done, is the living room, — which is dining room, sitting room, parlor, laundry, kitchen, store-room and nursery, all in one; and the other is a sleeping room, perhaps twice as large as an ordinary double bed, in which from three to five persons of both sexes and all ages, old and young, sick and well, parents and children, the guest and the lodger, if there be one, all sleep together. In one of these lodging rooms the proprietor who lets lodgings, receives from eight to twelve lodgers a night, and the room is fourteen feet long and ten feet wide."

Under the symbol of Gallio, the preacher described the social "indifferentist," who is vaguely aware that there is wrong in the world about him, but cares for none of these things. "Tell some one a story of wrong, or want, or social sorrow, and the chances are you will get the answer 'Really, how very unpleasant. Can you not find something more agreeable to talk about than that?' There is a shrinking from even the sight of misery, an unwillingness to hear about want or vice or sorrow, which closes sometimes every avenue of approach, and bars the way against every urgency of appeal." "Did Christ come only to teach us how to build handsome churches and keep them for ourselves, — to maintain a beautiful and sonorous worship, — to support a dignified ministry who should from time to time lend a kind of sacred *éclat* to the wedding or funeral or other solemnities with which our life is punctuated? Did He, — this Christ who had not where to

lay His head, and whose feet and hands were nailed for our salvation to the accursed tree, — did He, think you, hang on a cross and die as a felon that you and I might at length be dispatched out of this world with a safe and comfortable *viaticum*, and all the while that we stayed in it think of the sufferings and sorrows of our fellowmen only with a careless and easy indifference?" Christ died, he says, not merely for you and me, but for humanity. "Into the culture of that older time He came to put the one ingredient that it needed supremely to ennoble it, — the ingredient of a divine unselfishness. He came to make hateful and odious that cultivated self-love which cares nothing for another's welfare. He came to kill out that torpid indifference that could see wrong and cruelty and injustice and 'care for none of these things,' and to supplant it with an inextinguishable and self-forgetting love."

Thus the book proceeds, sermon after sermon: on the Perils of Wealth, the Slaughter of the Innocents, Pearls before Swine, One Another's Burdens, the Impotence of Money, the Empty Life.

These sermons represent only one phase of Dr. Potter's ministry at Grace Church. They were selected by him because they had a common theme, and because that theme concerned people in general. He was addressing the citizens of New York. Along with these discourses went many others, parochial and pastoral, which were intended for his own people. Into these sermons he brought his theology. In them he dealt with the distinctive features of his own communion. In them he ministered to those who were in doubt or in sin, gave guidance to the perplexed, and consoled the sorrowful.

Archdeacon Nelson described in the *Churchman* (Oct. 24, 1908) Dr. Potter's homiletical habits. "In the old days at Grace Church it was his custom to lay on a little desk in a corner of his study as many sheets of paper, arranged in pamphlet form, as he intended to fill with his Sunday morning sermon, and then to fill them. Sometimes he

was interrupted, but it did not seem to break the continuity of his thought. And when the sermon was finished it was remarkably free from alterations. Though he carried a few notes into the pulpit for his Sunday afternoon sermon, he did not look at them. They seemed to be mere outlines sketched in his study, and of no further use when, with his strong grasp of his subject, he was ready to speak.

The Blank Book of texts and themes ends with the five-hundredth sermon, just before the Lent of 1870, but it indicates the proportion which was maintained at that time between the sermons which may be called social and the sermons which may be called spiritual. Among the last fifty sermons, only six appear from their subjects to deal with public matters, and among these are such themes as The General Convention of 1868, The Ecumenical Council, our Church and our Times, American Churchmen and their Privileges. The distinctively social sermons are on The Gospel and the Poor, The Lust of Gain, and on Social Disintegration. A sermon on The Duties of a Christian Community to Sailors was preached on a special occasion. The majority of the sermons are on such themes as Godward Wisdom, Christ in the Storm, The World's Light, Christ Uplifted. How far this proportion was maintained, no record shows. It is a fair inference, however, that it represents a continuing balance of interest. It means that the preacher was not occupied most of the time with public questions. He was concerned also, and mainly, with the upbuilding of the individual Christian life.

At the same time it is plain from these published sermons, and from the progress of the parish, that the rector interpreted religion not so much in terms of church or creed as in terms of character. It was this quality in his preaching which they remembered in Troy as a presentation of religion "in a new light."

The sermons show that he took the creed quite simply and as a matter of course. He was not a student of either

philosophy or theology. He was a diligent reader of books, especially contemporary books, but they were for the most part books of experience rather than books of reflection. They had to do with action rather than with thought. He introduced many quotations, but they were from the reports of charitable societies, from Octavia Hill's "Homes of the London Poor," from John Bright, from Greg's "Realizable Ideals," from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"; once he quoted from Bushnell, once from Martineau. His interests were those of a man of affairs.

It is true that these were special sermons, collected because they had to do with the conditions of city life, but even so, a theologian would have colored them with theology, and an ecclesiastic would have found an immediate panacea for social ills in the Church's means of grace. Dr. Potter instinctively approached these problems practically. He saw social wrong, and was moved with indignation and compassion. He stirred within the souls of his people a desire to help; he organized them into assisting companies in parochial societies; he provided them with buildings and appliances.

It is significant that after one of his sermons, on a Thanksgiving Day, a previously indifferent parishioner, instead of going home to dinner, went down to Five Points and took part in an endeavor there to bring light into that darkness. People kept telling him in Monday morning letters how much his Sunday sermons impelled them to good works. He had no profound social theories, but he had a firm and unfailing conviction that the parable was right when it reprobated the men who passed by on the other side.

In all this social enthusiasm and wide-visioned concern for the general life, Henry Potter was not only the son of his father but the brother of his brothers. They were men of conscience and leadership who were intent not on their private gain, but on the common good. Clarkson Nott Potter was a lawyer of great distinction, and had

served for more than twenty years in the Congress of the United States, where he had rendered conspicuous service as chairman of the committee which investigated the charges of fraud in the presidential election of 1876. He was a leader of the New York democracy. Howard Potter had been one of the founders of the United States Sanitary Commission. He was an incorporator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and of the American Museum of Natural History, and a president of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. He was a founder of the State Charities Aid Association. Robert Brown Potter had been a soldier of distinction in the Civil War, rising to the post of Major-General, after a career of splendid courage and notable achievement. Edward Tuckerman Potter, musician and architect, was devoting himself to the study of the housing of the poor, planning model tenements. Eliphalet Nott Potter was president of Union College. James Neilson Potter was a colonel in the Civil War. William Appleton Potter was supervising architect of the Treasury Department at Washington. Frank Hunter Potter was a musician, and a journalist of influence.

In the *North American Review* for February, 1883, Dr. Potter contributed to a "symposium" on "The Revision of Creeds." It is true (he admitted) that creeds (taking the word in a large sense) differ from the opinions of many of the people who hold them. But some of these creeds were originally the expressions of a reaction, and reactions commonly go too far. Some of them were endeavors to speak in the voice of a new infallibility, but all infallibility is discredited by the clearer vision of the next generation. "A great religious body, to which England owes a vast debt of gratitude, demands of its ministers that 'before any minister is admitted into full connection, he shall give in the presence of the Conference a full and explicit declaration of his faith as to the doctrines taught by Mr. Wesley in his first four volumes of sermons, and his notes on the

New Testament.' I have the greatest respect for Mr. Wesley's sermons and notes, but I do not believe that the scholars of his communion to-day will care to pin their faith so explicitly as the above regulation demands, to the opinions and interpretations of a single individual; and one can at least sympathize with one of them who is said to have exclaimed, 'If we must have a Pope, let us have a living and not a dead one!'"

He admitted also that "it is a grievous disadvantage to any teacher that he must seem to be affirming or holding dogmas which do not express his inmost belief, and it is inevitably injurious to any people to be bound by 'Confessions of Faith' which they suspect their teachers of having outgrown, and which have no potential voice of authority to themselves."

What is needed, he said, instead of revision, is "a juster estimate of the purpose of a creed. It cannot, from the very nature of things, be an exhaustive definition of the faith." And also better than revision would be a general return from complicated formulas to the simple Apostles' Creed. "Greater and more helpful than any creed, it is to be presumed, is the personality of Him in whom it is its office to affirm our faith; and a creed which concerns itself chiefly with the facts of His life and death and resurrection is certainly more likely to be serviceable than any other."

The article is of a piece with all the utterances of his ministry in its expression of Dr. Potter's interest in the Gospel *of* Jesus rather than in the Gospel *about* Jesus, in faith rather than in the faith.

Under the inspiration of the rector's social preaching, and in the light and warmth of his own example, the industries of Grace Church continued and increased.

In 1880, the Church of the Nativity on Avenue C, which had been deprived of its English congregation by an invasion of the neighborhood by Germans, and then had been deprived, by various complications and misunder-

standings, of the aid of Trinity Church, which had maintained a German mission there, applied to Grace Church for help. This help was given, and societies of German people and services in their language were maintained by the parish. In 1882, a branch of the Girls' Friendly Society was organized in the parish church. In the same year, a missionary was appointed to minister to persons in public institutions on Ward's and Blackwell's Island, and in tenement houses on the East Side.

"I am glad to think," said the rector, "that the work of the parish has not merely run in well-worn and old-time ruts. In Grace-House-by-the-Sea, in the window-gardening prizes of the Benevolent Society, in the increased facilities and gatherings of the Junior Century, in both the new work and the new quarters of the Day Nursery, there are tokens of enlargement, of flexibility, of the spirit of adaptedness to fresh emergencies and new opportunities, without which any work becomes first stereotyped and then paralyzed."

The Year Book for 1883 occupied a hundred and thirteen pages, and contained the reports of sixteen societies. The rector called attention to the value of the work in its effect on the lives of those who were engaged in doing it. "It is a time," he said, "of feverish living and of manifold temptations, especially for those to whom has been given in any measure the stewardship of wealth or leisure or personal gifts. How the fierce, hot, greedy world vulgarizes our aspirations and eats the heart out of our best beliefs and desires! What shall save young men and young girls in an age when the paganism of the old Roman decadence, with its coarse luxury and its prodigal extravagance, seems in danger of being throned anew among us? Nothing — nothing but the power of a nobler interest and a loftier service than that rendered to the world, the flesh and the devil. This is what the empty heart and empty hands alike are waiting for — something to do, — something to do for another, — something to do for another under the

loving spell of Him who has done most of all for us, in that He hath loved us and given Himself for us!"

Dr. William Reed Huntington, who presently succeeded him, summarized the material and visible results of Dr. Potter's rectorship. "Most of the memorial windows which make the church so attractive, the chimes, and the marble spire surmounting the belfry where they hang, date all of them from that period. The little Chantry, so manifoldly useful, the Chancel Organ, Grace House — our administrative centre — the Memorial House, better known as the Day Nursery [the gift of Mr. Morton], Grace Chapel — the forerunner of our present East Side Settlement — a building fully up to the standards of that day, Grace-House-by-the-Sea, a summer home for children at Far Rockaway, all these belong to the accomplishments of those fifteen years."

These results, material and visible, can be definitely set down and reported. The greater achievements of the Grace Church rectorship elude the historian. They were written in the hearts of the people, and in the moral progress of the city. The *Tribune*, at the time of Dr. Potter's election to the bishopric, prophesied his conduct in that office from his service in the parish. "The keynote of his administration will be work, and the most practical kind of work. He will seek to make the church which he represents a living force in the world of to-day. It will be his aim to make men forget the theoretical differences that have so often separated them in the past, and to put before them the vast and complex problems of the modern work-a-day world. He will try to make the Episcopal Church not only the church of the rich and learned but the church as well of the poor and simple."

He retained his rectorship, after his consecration as bishop, until the end of the year, tiding over the parish till the new rector was elected. On Sunday, December 30th, 1883, he preached his farewell sermon. His text was "Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy

palaces." The church, he said, is a palace of plenty in the treasure of faith which she possesses, in her ample provision for divine worship, and in the opportunity which she offers for effective social service. "Looking back to-day, after fifteen years and more, I rejoice to remember that this parish has at least striven to be plenteous in peace, affluent in faith, worship and good works. May God keep it so, and more and more make it so, through all the years to come."

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF THE EPISCOPATE

1883-1884

Dr. Horatio Potter had been bishop of New York for nearly thirty years. Born in 1802, he was now beginning to feel the serious infirmities of age. On the 12th of September, 1883, he wrote to the Standing Committee of the diocese asking for an assistant. "It is now four months," he said, "since, exhausted by the great labors which usually accompany the spring appointments, I was overtaken by a severe attack of pneumonia. Although fully recovered from this attack, I find myself at present greatly reduced in strength, and unable, with the weight of so many years upon me, to recover the health that was formerly vouchsafed to me. It is very evident to me, and it is, indeed, the opinion of my physician that, even if my life should be considerably prolonged, I shall never have the physical strength that is necessary to endure the fatigues and exposures incident to the active duties of the Diocese." He accordingly proposed his "complete withdrawal from the administration of the Diocese," "and asked the Standing Committee to make known the situation to the approaching Convention," "in whatever manner they may deem best calculated to secure for me the entire relief from official care and duty, which has become absolutely necessary, and to promote the highest interests of the Church."

The Diocesan Convention met in St. Augustine's Chapel on Wednesday, the 26th of September, and the Bishop's letter was read. The Standing Committee stated that

in its views "the wish of the Bishop, the requirements of the Canons and the exigencies of the work of the Diocese, demand the early election of an Assistant Bishop." A committee was appointed "to express the deep sense of regret of this Convention upon the receipt of the communication read from the Bishop." A letter was addressed him recalling the "years of unbroken peace" which the Diocese for more than a quarter of a century had enjoyed under his administration, appreciating his "large and liberal policy" in the conduct of its affairs, and hoping that release from the burden of office might result in his being permitted, for many years yet to come, to see the increasing fruit of his labors. On Thursday, the 27th of September, at noon, the Convention proceeded to the election of an Assistant Bishop.

The names of fourteen distinguished clergymen were thereupon placed in nomination. On the third ballot Henry Codman Potter was elected. The next highest number of votes had been received by Dr. Morgan Dix. On motion of Dr. Eigenbrodt, the election was made unanimous. "A public thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy termination of this important business" took the form of a singing of the *Gloria in Excelsis,* and on the following day the Assistant-Bishop-elect accepted the election.

"It has seemed proper," he said, "that I should come here this morning, and myself make answer to the communication which reached me yesterday afternoon from the Convention.

"I need not tell you how overwhelmed I have been by the action of this body. My own words upon this floor yesterday made plain, I think, with what unfeigned reluctance I faced either the honors or the burdens of the Episcopal office, and how resolute was my purpose to refuse even the proffer of them. But your action in this place, the manner of it, and most of all the spirit of it, has taught me somewhat sharply and sternly that in a question

such as this I must have respect to some other judgment than my own, and must consent to see my duty in that wider vision of it which expresses itself in the voices of my brethren and of the Church. Your proceedings yesterday have seemed to take from me in this matter the power of discretion, and to teach me that here, at any rate, it is mine to obey.

"And so I come here this morning to say that I acquiesce in your decision, and submit to that call which, I trust, is the call of God, as it has come to me by your voices. Dear brethren, judge me gently in this new and strange relation. How can I bear such burdens as loom up before me, save as you shall give me your sympathy and your prayers, and oftentimes your generous forbearance?

"I am here to-day to throw myself upon your compassion and to ask for your counsel and coöperation. Singularly inexperienced in matters of diocesan administration of which the youngest presbyter in the diocese could scarcely have less knowledge than I — with a record of service so wise, so unwearied and so self-forgetful behind me, that, kinsman as I am of him who has made it, I may not refuse here to remember or to speak of it — how can I confront the burden that is before me in following in the footsteps of him who for nearly thirty years has gone to and fro upon his Master's errands in this diocese, without a feeling of profound dismay? At such a moment one must needs cry out, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' and he must needs remember that 'our sufficiency,' yours and mine is, and is alone 'of God.'"

He added a word of appreciation of the personal courtesy of Dr. Dix. "To my distinguished brother, the rector of Trinity Parish, I wish, here and in your presence, to express my profound gratitude for words privately spoken to me, of such chivalrous kindness and cordiality, and for assurances of such singular nobleness and generosity, as I can never forget."

The votes of the Convention had represented some

measure of party preference. The low churchmen had voted for Dr. Potter, the high churchmen for Dr. Dix. The new bishop wished to make it plain that his election was not a partisan victory. He would come into office with the confidence and affection of all his brethren to continue the large and liberal policy of his predecessor.

Such an administration was commonly expected of him. Between his election and his consecration he attended the funeral of Dr. Ewer, and Dr. Thomas McKee Brown, of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, wrote to him in appreciation of his sympathy. "Let me thank you," said Dr. Brown, "for your kindness in coming from the midst of so many duties to pay respect to his memory. I recall that Dr. Ewer has been much criticised in his lifetime, and I know that for our Assistant Bishop to bear his testimony to his good name and to his worth as a presbyter of the diocese (together with the large attendance of men of all schools of thought) is an augury of the peace and charity that has come after years of struggle and possible misunderstanding."

The service of consecration was held in Grace Church on Saturday, October 20. The General Convention was in session in Philadelphia, and they took a recess for the purpose of attending. Thus there was a long and imposing procession: the students of the General Theological Seminary in their black gowns, the clergy to the number of several hundred, and forty-three bishops. No such array had ever been seen before in the church in this country. But it rained that day, and the building was in the twilight which preceded the splendor of electricity. Among the clergy the reporters noticed that "two Oxford graduates were distinguished by their crimson ecclesiastical hoods." The only other touch of color was given by a cross of red and white roses on the altar.

Bishop Stevens said the Commandments, Bishop Lay of Easton read the Epistle, and Bishop Whipple of Minnesota the Gospel, Bishop Neely of Maine led the recitation of

the Nicene Creed, Bishop Williams of Connecticut preached the sermon.

The preacher recalled the days when he was rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, in Henry Potter's boyhood. "I remember years long past for you and me, when in that old church which I am sure must be almost as dear to you as it will ever be to me, you in your early youth, and your venerated father in his strong manhood were among those to whom it was my privilege to minister." In his sermon he emphasized the relation of the clergy, and especially of the bishops, to the mind of their generation. They were to be defenders of the faith. "In an age," he said, "when a subtle rationalism takes on the guise of sentiment; when the phraseology of revelation is on the lips without one particle of its meaning in the mind; when the Word of God is patronized and the Son of God is condescendingly applauded, as men applaud the work of a skilful artist, the Episcopate must stand in the forefront." He dwelt upon the temptation of the modern bishops to be so occupied in administrative work as to neglect the apostolic counsel "give attendance to reading." "Men," he said, "are willing enough that the bishop should seek for the 'cloke' in which he is to travel on his round of duty, but they prefer that he should take no thought for the 'books and parchments.'" "If the people, misled by false or imperfect estimates of life, will compel their chief pastors to become 'like unto a wheel,' the power of which is measured only by the number and rapidity of its revolutions, they must not wonder if they also see them 'as the stubble before the wind.'"

Then the service proceeded, Bishop Lay and Bishop Howe of Central Pennsylvania being the presenters. It fell to Bishop Clark of Rhode Island to "move the congregation present to pray," and to Bishop Seymour of Springfield to lead them in the litany. Bishop Clark asked the prescribed questions. During the putting on of "the rest of the Episcopal habit" an "anthem of inves-

titure" was sung, beginning, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble."

The Rev. Arthur Brooks and the Rev. Charles T. Olmsted then brought in the Presiding Bishop. Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith of Kentucky was almost ninety years of age. He had been a bishop for half a century. He had been given an assistant in the work of his diocese, and was spending his last years in New York. He refused the offer of a wheeled chair as a means of comfortable access to the chancel, and insisted upon walking in, entering, however, only for the moment of his laying on of hands upon the head of the elected bishop, and then being almost carried by his escorting presbyters. "When I rose from my knees," said Bishop Potter, recounting the incident, "after having knelt to receive from his hands my episcopal commission, he closed the ordinal from which he had been reading the words of consecration, and handed it to me, saying, 'There, Henry, you can keep that book. I shall never use it again.' And he never did." This was his last official act.

Bishop Williams was the celebrant in the Holy Communion, assisted by Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island, Bishop Huntington of Central New York, and Bishop Doane of Albany. Bishop Horatio Potter was confined to his bed.

That evening the new bishop visited the Midnight Mission which was under the charge of the Sisters of St. John Baptist, and confirmed four persons.

The next day, being Sunday, he went in the morning to Blackwell's Island and preached to four hundred young men in prison.

"The room was long and narrow, lined off [being the dining room] by parallel rows of long tables as wide as a soup-plate. On a narrow strip of worn carpeting, stood the reading-desk covered with red cloth. Behind the raised platform was a grated window before which hung a maroon-colored curtain with the word *Sanctus* embroidered

upon it. During the service swallows fluttered up among the rafters." "I thank God," said the Bishop, "for the privilege of beginning my work as a missionary." He spoke on the universality of temptation, and on the universal opportunity of pardon and amendment.

Meanwhile the bishops were returning to Philadelphia to resume their discussion of the case of Bishop Riley. He had been consecrated in 1879 as Bishop of the Valley of Mexico, but both the appointment and the appointee had proved unsatisfactory. The Convention was now telegraphing to him to come and give an account of his stewardship; but he was too busy, he said, to come!

The Assistant Bishop began his work with a profound sense of its importance and its difficulty. He always seemed indeed to do things easily. He never complained of the incessant demands which were made upon him, neither did he yield to the more subtle temptation to pride himself upon his manifold activity, and to talk about it. He was very reticent about himself. He had an uncommon facility, and an unusual ability to work without worrying. At the same time, he worked hard, and felt it. And this new and unaccustomed task bore upon him heavily. In the beginning of October he had written to Dr. Packard, his old teacher in the Virginia Seminary: "Your note was a great comfort and gratification to me, and I am glad to have your assurance that in the large task which has so unexpectedly come to me, I may have your sympathy and prayers. I have a difficult and delicate work before me, and I hope that in the doing of it my fathers and brethren will judge me gently and bear with me patiently." In discussing the matter with Bishop Huntington there were tears in his eyes. "During a visit to me in the Tyrol," says Mrs. Thompson, "I said one day, 'After our dear Uncle Horatio I hope to see you bishop of New York.' I have never forgotten the solemn expression of his face as he answered, 'If a man desire martyrdom, there it is.'"

All the responsibilities of administration rested now upon

the Assistant Bishop. Bishop Horatio Potter had withdrawn entirely, as he said, from participation in the affairs of the diocese. "Will the bishop be good enough to inform the undersigned if he has any commands for him?" This note, with Henry C. Potter's name attached, is sent in to the sick room of the aged bishop. It is brought back with a single blotted word in reply: "None. H. P." Many similar communications must have passed between them: the younger man deferential, ready to be of service, the elder leaving everything in his hands.

The New York of the early eighties was ministered to in religion by a company of able men. Beside Dix at Trinity, were Arthur Brooks at the Incarnation, Donald at the Ascension, Houghton at the Transfiguration, Tiffany at Zion, Rainsford at St. George's, McKim at Holy Trinity, Harlem, Cornelius Smith at St. James's, Satterlee at Calvary, Peters at St. Michael's, Gallaudet at St. Ann's, and Morgan at St. Thomas's. Huntington was beginning his noble rectorship at Grace. Beecher, Tallmadge and Storrs were preaching in Brooklyn; John Hall and Robert Collyer in New York.

The life of the city was abundantly interesting. Lord Coleridge and Matthew Arnold were lecturing in the month of Dr. Potter's consecration. Henry Irving and Ellen Terry were playing Shakespeare. People were concerned about the campaign of Mr. Seth Low for reëlection as mayor of Brooklyn, and were watching from a distance the campaign of Benjamin Butler for reëlection as governor of Massachusetts. It was an interesting place in an interesting time.

The rector of Grace Church had taken an active and useful part in civic life, but in a quiet way, devoting himself mainly to the upbuilding of his parish. The Assistant Bishop of New York attended quite as closely to his immediate duties. His election and consecration attracted little attention outside of his own communion. The official journal which he kept and printed according to the require-

ments of the canons is filled with the record of meetings and addresses. He speaks to the Parish Workers of Calvary Church, and to the Working Men's Clubs of the Church of the Holy Communion; he presides at the meetings of the trustees of Trinity School and of St. Stephen's College; he addresses a meeting assembled in the interests of the Church Temperance Society, and holds a service for women engaged in church work; all in a single month, and in addition to visitation and Sunday sermons. One entry only suggests that wide range of public interests in which he came gradually to take so conspicuous a part: he delivered an address at the Anniversary of the Huguenot Society. Everything else was such as one would find in the contemporary journal of any other working bishop.

The address to women engaged in church work (Grace Church, November 27, 1883) was the first of a series of such conferences, continuing the interest which he had already shown in the encouragement of deaconesses and sisterhoods. It was taken down in shorthand and afterwards published with four other addresses spoken on like occasions. The purpose was to deepen and enrich the spirit by which the quality of such work is determined. Taking for his subject "The Great Exemplar," he lifted the minds of the workers above the details of their material service. "Absorbed," he said, "with questions of finance or charitable housekeeping, buying clothing or packing a box for a missionary, dressing a wound, dispensing an alms, or washing some poor waif of the garret or of the street into something like outer whiteness, if no more, it may be said that we are easily tempted to forget the higher ends of all Christian work, to forget that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, to forget that our service itself is, or should be, a nurture of our own souls in the life of prayer and faith, and saintly speech and thoughts, instead, like her whom her Lord gently but distinctly admonished, to be 'cumbered with much serving.'"

In the midst of this address there is a glimpse of the inner life of the speaker, beset, like those to whom he spoke, with the limitations of perpetual activity. Unconsciously he revealed his own devout ideals and endeavors. "Undoubtedly," he said, "Christ had His moments of stillness. But if the story of the gospels is to be believed, how few they were! How He hastens unrestingly from town to town! How no privacy of friend's or entertainer's guest-table protects Him from the sinners and sufferers who throng to touch and hear Him! And yet, shot through and through was all the service with the silver thread of a divine calmness and peace. His tasks never flurry Him, His work never masters Him, His engagements never enslave Him." He considered the weariness and discouragement of Jesus, and His endurance of criticism and misunderstanding; and in it all, unfailingly sustaining Him, "an all-pervading consciousness of a divine partnership, and flowing out of it, a calm and serene confidence that He who was working in and through Him, would bring Him, let what might delay or hinder, to the hour when, His task complete, His task all done and ended, He could say, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.'" "We, too," he added, "may not fear to say, 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work. His lamp shines through my reserve. His compassion stirs my pity. His courage nerves my will. My task, my work, do I call it? Nay, it is His more than it is mine. He and He only can make me know the meaning of the words, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me,' and He has given me 'an Exemplar that I should follow His steps.'" In this address, spoken five weeks after his consecration, the Bishop revealed the spirit in which he was entering upon his work. The conditions of the conference were intimate and informal, and he responded to them. He said plainly what was in his heart.

Reviewing the work of the year in his first Convention Address, he spoke of these conferences. "It is proper,"

he said, "that I should make record here that, during the past winter and spring, I have conducted a series of services, held in some five or six churches and chapels in this city, for women engaged in church work, to whom I delivered a series of addresses on subjects related to their work and its spiritual needs. The very large attendance upon these services, of persons from without as well as within the diocese, indicated how general is the interest in women's work which exists among us, and how great is the wisdom of those who are giving themselves more or less wholly to it. We have to thank God for those who, whether in sisterhoods such as exist in this diocese, or as deaconesses, have recognized a divine calling of service, and have altogether surrendered themselves to it, but we may well recognize, at the same time, the vocation of that still larger number who while bound by domestic ties to duties from which they may not wholly withdraw, are yet moved to give themselves to the service of the Church and her Lord in acts of mercy and love. For both these classes some more definite and explicit instruction has long been needed, and in initiating the service which I have this day reported to you, it is my hope that we have but begun a series of such instructions to be continued from year to year, and in which I trust I may have the help of my brethren of the reverend clergy and others."

Twice during the year, in March, the Assistant Bishop met the clergy of the diocese in the Chantry of Grace Church for a devotional service, consisting of the Holy Communion and a brief address. These meetings, he said in his Convention Address, "witnessed to a want which many of us who are in the ministry are feeling more and more profoundly. Dear brethren of the laity, when you complain that the clergy, whether at the altar or in the pulpit, do not greatly edify you, do you realize how constant and how exhausting is the draught upon both their spiritual and their intellectual resources, and how few and scanty, in most cases, are the means at their com-

mand for reënforcing them? A priest or deacon in a great city, driven by claims which cover the whole domain of life and include exacting interests, secular as well as sacred, or a country pastor chilled by isolation and disheartened by the difficulties of maintaining an edifying worship no less than the question of personal support, are hardly in a position to sustain a high level of spiritual enthusiasm, without some special help to doing so." He advocated the holding of "retreats" and "quiet days," calling them if necessary by some other name which "may not give alarm to timorous souls."

In June, he delivered the Annual Address, on "The Place of the Scholar in American Life," at the Commencement of the University of Michigan. In the same month the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Trinity College. Union College had already made him a Doctor of Laws (1877).

In September, in his address to the Diocesan Convention, he suggested the consideration of plans for church extension, in city and country, suggesting the appointment of archdeacons or rural deans, again with deference to the "timorous souls" who are sensitive to the possible significance of names. "I beseech you, brethren," he concluded, "add your prayer to mine for all the faithful; for the good estate of the Catholic Church, especially that portion of it in this diocese; for its bishop, venerable and beloved, who, though still spared to us, rests from his labors; and for him who has so long detained you, that he may have given to him the strength and wisdom and meekness which he so greatly needs."

CHAPTER X

THE PIGEONHOLING OF HERESY

1884

In the middle of January, 1884, a somewhat difficult question was presented to the Assistant Bishop for settlement in connection with the instructions which were being given in All Souls Church by the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton. He had preached a course of sermons out of which he had made a book on The Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible, and his people had asked him to apply the principles therein stated to the detailed understanding of the Old Testament. This he had begun to do on Sunday afternoons.

Dr. Newton's teachings had already disturbed the minds of some of his conservative brethren. On April 25, 1883, Dr. Samuel Buel and Dr. B. F. Da Costa had made to Bishop Horatio Potter a formal presentment charging Dr. Newton with "several grave offences against the Canons of the Church and against his ordination vows and promises." The Bishop had "promised attention to it when certain matters requiring his immediate attention had been despatched." The presenters, however, had waited in vain for any further action.

Thus the matter stood when the rector of All Souls began his further elucidation of the higher cricitism. "My plan," he said afterward, "contemplated the covering of the Pentateuch during the winter, in a series of lectures which in the traditional liberty of the Episcopal Church should give a plain and popular account of the nature and contents of these five books, in the light of the new criticism." Thus he dealt with the composite structure and author-

ship of the Pentateuch, with the "primeval sagas," and with the "traditions" of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph.

So much has been said on these matters since that time, and so many of the propositions which then appeared destructive have been quietly accepted by conservative persons, that Dr. Newton's lectures, read in the light of the present day, seem harmless enough. They were not so accepted, however, by his neighbors. Historical criticism was little known in this country. Scholars were aware of it, but congregations had not been much informed about it. Dr. Newton was one of the pioneers in its popularization, and he encountered some of the natural inconveniences of that position. Even as late as 1884, new ideas were under suspicion, especially in religion. The reporters put the lectures in the Monday morning newspapers, giving considerable space to whatever looked to them like heresy, and less space, or none at all, to what the lectures said by way of piety. In this form the instructions were "doctrinally unsatisfactory to very many churchmen," and they expressed themselves on the matter with much freedom.

The Assistant Bishop, a low churchman by inheritance, was a broad churchman by temperament. He was disinclined to impede the pursuit of truth by ecclesiastical limitations. Already, in 1873, in an introduction which he wrote for an American edition of J. Llewelyn Davies's "Theology and Morality," he had quoted with approval the lines of Dean Alford:

> "Speak thou the truth. Let others fence
> And trim their words for pay;
> In pleasant sunshine of pretence
> Let others bask their day.
> Guard *thou* the fact."

Dr. Potter, in his introduction, had indeed cautiously remarked that "very few persons will agree with Mr. Davies in everything that he has to say;" but Dr. Newton certainly scored a point when on a fly leaf of his published

lectures he printed a paragraph from the book which Dr. Potter had introduced to American readers. "It was the design of God," said the author, "that the world should be governed by the spirit, and not by texts. The sacred volume is therefore exhibited in the face of the world, to the incredulous dismay of the general multitude of Christians, as not wholly trustworthy. The Christian will no longer be able to avail himself of the short and easy method of the syllogism, 'All that is in the Bible is true; this is the Bible, therefore it is true.' But the loss ought to be a great gain. The word of God interpreted by history and life is a grander object of faith than even the Bible."

The responsibility of a bishop, however, differs somewhat from that of a parish priest. He is indeed, as Bishop Williams had said in the consecration sermon, to "give attendance to reading" and to be a champion of the truth, but he is at the same time to keep the peace. The Assistant Bishop found the peace disturbed by Dr. Newton's lectures. It seemed to him that the truth itself would be best advanced by the exercise of patience. Without denying that the right reading of the Pentateuch was a subject of interest and of some importance, he felt that Dr. Newton, by the fault perhaps of the unprepared public rather than by the fault of his own matter or manner, was distorting the perspective and introducing an unnecessary confusion. He therefore informally requested the lecturer to discontinue his lectures.

"In our brief interview the other day," said the Assistant Bishop (January 10, 1884), "you gave me an assurance which was, I am sure, as sincere on your part as it was unsolicited on mine. May I venture to recall it to you? You know, as well as I, that in the matter of your course of Sunday afternoon sermons I have no power to silence you by any act or injunction which is merely my own; and you know also how thoroughly persuaded I am that you are animated in all that you have said and done in

your ministry by a sincere desire to serve and help your fellowmen. But I am no less persuaded that the influence of what you are now doing on Sunday afternoons is not such as you yourself would wish, and that its results are both painful and harmful to an extent of which you have no knowledge.

"And so I ask you to stop, and remind you of your promise to do so. I do not approach you in any attitude of authority; it is doubtful whether in view of all the circumstances of your own position and mine, I have any right to do so. Be that as it may, I have the best reason for believing that you will heed this request of mine, and I will only add that if you need a reason to give your people for doing so, you are at perfect liberty to say that I have made it."

Dr. Newton replied, "Yours of the tenth is before me. I could not refuse to heed your request, so delicately made; and I am doubly bound by my assurance to you that your sense of expediency would guide me in this matter. But I am frank to say that had I foreseen the renewal of the brutal attacks on my honor already made by one fellow presbyter in the public print, and evidently to be followed by others, I should not have promised as I did. Fearing that there might be a renewal of last year's agitation I was ready to stop my course rather than embroil you in any trouble. Since Monday the face of things has so far changed that I foresee the reproach that I shall incur by this action. None the less I shall obey your wish. In the changed circumstances I shall avail myself of your permission to use your request as my reason for stopping — for nothing else would stop me now. You say 'to my people.' It will, however, go of course to the press, as I suppose you know, but as I feel I ought to remind you. Failing to hear from you by Sunday, I shall understand that you accept this responsibility." He signed the letter, "Yours in a loyalty that this may show you, perhaps."

No further word arriving, Dr. Newton on the Sunday

following announced to his people the conclusion of his course of lectures. "The Assistant Bishop of our diocese," he said, "has asked me to stop my Sunday afternoon course of Bible lectures. He disclaims 'any attitude of authority,' owning that his right to inhibit my teachings is at least doubtful. A claim of episcopal authority to silence me by official right would have thrown me back upon the principle of 'the liberty of prophesying.' A request thus made by my ecclesiastical superior and my personal friend appeals to my loyalty. He knows the condition of his diocese, and he would not have made such a request had he not felt it wise. His own sympathies with mental freedom and honest utterance are so well known that such a request becomes doubly imperative. His task in guiding our church is a delicate one that I would not willfully make more embarrassing. While I know of another side to my teachings than that which has doubtless been thrust before him, I cannot but defer to his judgment and accede to his wish. I shall therefore suspend my course of Bible lectures.

"In commencing it I simply complied with repeated requests. I meant to help the intelligent study of the Old Testament on the part of those whose faith in the revelation there recorded rests on something deeper than a superstitious credulity. I regret that your meat proves other people's poison. Nothing has been said here that is not an old story to Biblical scholars, and all that has been said, as you know, has been in the profoundest reverence for the real spiritual revelation, which came to mankind through the historic growth of the 'people of religion.' Whatever has been said has been with a view to aiding you in disentangling the overgrowth of legend and myth in the Old Testament tradition from this inner body of truth; that thus you might read these venerable sagas of Genesis, which alone we have covered, without affronting your reason or your conscience by trying to make science out of its myths, or history out of its legends, while you listen the more heedfully to their spiritual truths. You must

do without this help for the Pentateuch for the present, because other people, untrained in a rational reverence, find themselves now pained in trying to think out the real meaning of these traditions. You who are strong must, as of old the Apostle charged, bear the burdens of the weak.

"If harm has been done to any soul I am profoundly sorry. I am none the less convinced that such harm must needs be risked now to escape the worse harm following the silence of the pulpit on such subjects. The intelligence of the age is increasingly drifting away from the churches because of that silence, or of what is worse, the continued utterance of outworn conceptions. In every birth age of a new thought of religion harm has been done by those who squared to the new light. Christianity did such harm in its dawn, and its apostles were 'infidels' and 'atheists.' The Reformation did such harm, and the men whom we are now honoring were charged by the priests of their day with destroying faith and opening the floodgates of moral disorder. Only thus does the needful higher thought come in and gather reverence and sanctity around it.

"I confess that it is hard for me to comply with my Bishop's wish, now that the fire of abuse has opened again upon me, and that my fellow presbyters have not scrupled in the public press to charge me in contemptuous terms with conscious dishonesty and insanity, and to demand my instant expulsion from the church. Personally, while never courting such an ordeal, I have never shrunk from facing the issue threatened me for exercising the freedom of teaching, which is the heritage of our church; but I have no right to compromise other interests just now perhaps of greater importance to our church, nor have I the heart to lay a burden on the mind of our venerable Bishop. Could I have foreseen a renewal of the unreasonable panic of last winter, I should not have begun these parish 'talks.' I had too much trust, it seems, in the sober second thought of a portion of our church. Since those who reprobate my views are not willing to accord

me the liberty which some of them claim in other directions, I must choose between my rights and the church's peace — and, as heretofore, I choose peace."

He proceeded, however, to publish the lectures. "The singular position," he said, "in which I was then put made it seem due, alike to my people and myself, that the public should be enabled to judge of the real nature of the lectures, which had called forth such a very unusual, if not unprecedented, episcopal interruption of a presbyter in the course of his parochial ministrations." And he ended his preface with the expression of a hope that "the time may soon come when the growth of a manly spirit of free enquiry among the clergy, and the spread of an intelligent conception of the Bible through the laity shall make it no longer needful for a bishop to stay a disreputable panic in the Episcopal Church by asking for silence from a presbyter who may be seeking, in whatever imperfect way, to lead men into a rationally reverent view of the Scriptures."

The Bishop's action commended itself to the general mind. "The growing disposition of our bishops to 'govern,'" wrote Dr. John Vaughan Lewis, "and the growing determination of our presbyters to call their souls their own, is leading on to a conflict in which the bishops will inevitably go to the wall, unless they adopt your tactics. I have no sympathy with Newton's exegesis, but I have great sympathy with his 'liberty of prophesying,' of which he seems so tenacious. I think your shot took him exactly between wind and water, and sunk his craft in shallow groundings where there will be no lives lost. It seems to me that that sort of wisdom appertaineth to the office of a bishop in the Church of God in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and I am more glad than before that you were consecrated."

But complaints continued. "Yesterday," says a correspondent, "I met the president of one of our banks, a devout Christian man, and of wide range of intercourse constantly

with the strong men of our community. He asked, 'What is the church to do with the rector of the parish which is forced to listen to his persevering tirades against the Scriptures? We men want to live above the things that are troubling and tempting us and have found our help chiefly in the Scriptures and the church-teaching founded thereon, and here is one of our ministers week by week jerking us down from our foothold, and destroying the credit of the documents where only we can find any reliable evidence of the existence of a God. . . . Is there no way to stop this mischief and disgrace?'" The bank president is further quoted as complaining that Dr. Newton is undoing his expectation of acquaintance with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the world to come; and as saying that he has always found it good for him to believe the story of Joseph, and that even if it is not true he does not wish to be told so.

The previous presenters took the matter up again.

Dr. Da Costa said (January 15, 1884): "After my visit to you last week I felt almost sure that my connection with the unfortunate affair which led to the interview was at an end. I hope even now that such is the case, or that it may be soon. I should never have been known as one of the presenters if other persons differently situated and more capable of making the movement a success had not been intimidated by the prospect of losing the good opinion of influential parties, and weakly left me alone to go on as best I could. Then, as I explained to you, I was not allowed to let the matter drop on the simple condition which you conceded was fair and just, nor indeed upon any condition at all. I beg to offer this brief statement that you may not misunderstand my motive in making the request which I venture to present.

"But, not to delay, I wish to ask, as a presbyter of the diocese, — that is, if you consider the question a proper one, and feel wholly at liberty to reply, — whether government of the diocese is now in your hands in such a

way as would enable you to act independently of the Senior Bishop in any matter brought before you. Hitherto, I have understood distinctly that such was not the case.

"I ask not only for the reason that I desire personally to have done with all complications connected with discipline, but on account of others with whom I am, in a sense, connected, and who, in the absence of knowledge, are liable to make mistakes that may prove unfortunate for us all."

The formal presentment was renewed. Dr. Buel and Dr. Da Costa signed a letter (March 6, 1884), in which after reviewing their application to the Senior Bishop, they said, "Under the canon the bishop could do only one of three things specified in the canon. 1. 'If the facts charged shall not appear to him to be such as constitute an offence,' he 'may dismiss it,' that is, the presentment. Or 2. 'If it allege facts some of which do, and some of which do not constitute an offence, he may allow it in part and dismiss the residue.' Or 3. 'He may permit it to be amended.' 'When it shall be allowed in whole or in part,' the Bishop 'shall' proceed, in sending the case to trial, in the manner subsequently directed in the canon.

"Under these circumstances we had every reason to think that the case in whole or in part, or in amended form, would be sent to trial, and that one of us would have been notified as the canon directs. If it were dismissed, it could only be on the ground specified in the canon that 'the facts charged did not appear to the Bishop to be such as constitute an offence.' Of any such dismissal we have not had the slightest intimation, and no word from the Bishop on the whole subject or on any part of it.

"We therefore respectfully ask you, Right Rev. Bishop, that you would kindly inform us whether the case has been dismissed according to the canon, and in accordance with the ground specified in the canon, or, if this is not the case, whether any judicial examination of this painful subject is to be ordered."

This communication the Assistant Bishop quietly filed away in its appropriate pigeonhole.

Dr. Buel (in 1886) returned to the attack. He quoted many sentences from a recently published sermon to show that Dr. Newton was more offensively and dangerously heretical than ever. "The sermon," he said, "is a rejection of our common Christianity, as it is held universally in our church, and as we have received it from the church before us. My dear bishop, can such things be? There is a time for deliberation and there is a time for action, and when such a time has clearly and fully come, the world and the church will look, and have a right to look, for action. Our canons (Canon XVI, sec. 1) provide for the examination of such a case, and if the examiners are of 'opinion' that there is 'sufficient ground for presentment' the examiners are directed to 'present the clergyman accordingly.' That you may be rightly directed in this most important matter, affecting all the clergy and candidates for orders, affecting too the estimate of the sincerity of the church in the issue of her doctrine, discipline and worship, is my earnest prayer."

This prayer seems to have been answered. Bishop Potter took no action; the teachings in question, whether wise or unwise, were not given the advertisement of a trial; truth and error, in Bacon's phrase, were left to "grapple" without episcopal assistance on the one side or the other; and the faith suffered no harm. Peace prevailed. Other matters engaged both popular and clerical attention.

The case of Dr. Newton appeared again, in 1891, when twelve New York clergymen formally appealed to the Bishop to appoint persons, according to the provisions of the canon, to ascertain the truth concerning the public rumors respecting his teaching. Dr. Newton himself very earnestly seconded this request. Worse even than trials for heresy, he said, is the "free resort to extra legal means in order to work up the religious rancor under which a presbyter is tried and condemned without a hearing

before a judge or jury." This he characterized as a kind of "ecclesiastical lynching."

But again the Bishop exercised his discretionary power in the matter by quietly filing the new papers with the old ones. There they innocuously remained. And Dr. Newton continued in good standing in the Church to his life's end.

CHAPTER XI

THE ORDER OF THE HOLY CROSS

1884–1885

THE interest of Dr. Potter in the work of women in the church indicated the probability of his cordial encouragement of the sisterhoods already existing in the diocese. One of these, the Sisterhood of St. John Baptist, had recently become an American society, still related to the parent house at Clewer in England, but practically independent of it. Dr. Houghton, of the Church of the Transfiguration, had thus become the Warden, and the Sisters looked to the Assistant Bishop of New York to give them such counsel and service as was given at Clewer by the Bishop of Oxford. Thus in October, 1884, Dr. Houghton wrote to Bishop Potter asking him to use the customary "Service of Blessing" on the occasion of the reëlection of the Mother Superior, and to receive the profession of two sisters. A like matter presently appeared in another form in a request to "profess" a member of the Order of the Holy Cross.

The Order of the Holy Cross had its origin in the mind of Rev. James Otis Sargent Huntington, a son of the Bishop of Central New York. Graduating from Harvard, he had returned to Syracuse to undertake the duties of his diaconate under his father's direction in the charge of St. Andrew's Mission. About that time, Canon Knox-Little being in this country and conducting a three-days' Retreat in St. Clement's Church, Philadelphia, Huntington went down to attend it, partly from motives of devotion, partly from motives of curiosity. In the progress of these services he

felt himself called to the "religious" life. Another like-minded young clergyman was entering at the same time into a similar experience. Rev. Robert S. Dod was curate to the German priest at the Mission of the Holy Cross in the city of New York. After the Retreat, on the way from Philadelphia to New York, the two conferred together. There was already a Brotherhood in this country, the Order of St. John the Evangelist, but it was an English society, having its headquarters at Cowley, Oxford. Whoever would join it must serve his noviate and make his profession in England, and be under the direction of an English Superior. The young men proposed to themselves an independent American fraternity.

In September, 1881, Mr. Huntington went to New York to join Dod in an attempt at community life, and the two were joined a month later by the Rev. James G. Cameron, a young priest who had been working among the Indians of the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse. In the intervals of their zealous labors among the East Side poor, they compared their ideals and made their plans. They effected an organization among themselves and adopted a rule of life. All this they submitted to Bishop Horatio Potter, and received his approval. Mr. Dod, writing to the Assistant Bishop in March, 1884, acknowledging a contribution to their work, said, "I think it will please you to know that Bishop Huntington also gives us his hearty approval after having read our constitution and rule, as well as observing our methods of work"; but added, frankly, "I do not mean that he quite endorses as advisable all the details of our life, but finds nothing of which he strongly disapproves." "There is nothing secret," said Mr. Dod, "about our life or work, but of course that part of it which pertains to our private life and devotion we have sought to keep to ourselves as something too sacred to be laid open to every one's idle curiosity; but to you or to any one, when there is any reason for it, we are quite ready to make it known." "It would be a great pleasure," he added,

"and a help to us, to feel that you know all about it, and thoroughly understood what we were looking forward to and endeavoring, by God's help, to carry out."

It was found eventually that Mr. Dod, on account of persistent asthma, would be unable to live in New York. It was found also that Mr. Cameron was of another mind from Mr. Huntington as to the nature of the vows which should be assumed. When therefore the time came for the actual profession of novices, Mr. Huntington alone was ready. This was the situation when the Order of the Holy Cross came formally into existence on November 25, 1884.

At the service in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, the bishops of Central New York and Tennessee were present. Bishop Potter received the profession.

"I desire," said the novice, "for love of Jesus, to devote myself body, soul and spirit to the service of Almighty God in the religious life as a member of the Order of the Holy Cross, and to that end to take upon me of my own free will the vows of religious poverty, chastity, and obedience."

"*Bishop.* Do you solemnly and forever surrender all that you possess, or of which you may hereafter become possessed, even to the least article of personal use or enjoyment, in accordance with the vow of religious poverty?"

"*Novice.* I do.

"*Bishop.* Will you diligently serve God for the remainder of your life in the virgin state, striving to follow the example of the perfect purity of our virgin Lord in all your thoughts, words and deeds, as the vow of religious chastity demands?

"*Novice.* I will, the Lord being my helper.

"*Bishop.* Will you shape your life in accordance with the Rule of Life of the Order of the Holy Cross, and will you give respectful obedience to all lawful commands of your superior, and to the decisions of the chapter, submitting your own will to their godly directions and administrations, under the vow of religious obedience?

"*Novice.* I will, by the help of God.

"*Bishop.* Almighty God, who hath given you this will to do all those things, grant you also strength and power to fulfil the same, that He may accomplish the work which He hath begun in you, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The *Churchman* for December 6, gave an account of the ceremony, among other paragraphs of current interest concerning the diocese of New York, and published an editorial under the title, "Unmarried Clergy." This brief editorial, in the mild manner which was then characteristic of that journal, made no reference to the Order of the Holy Cross, but observed that "it is undoubtedly true that the church has need of unmarried men to do her work in many places," and observed further, "but this does not say that all clergymen should remain unmarried. Still less does it mean that the unmarried state is more religious or more to be commended than the married."

In the issue of December 13, among "Letters to the Editor" appeared the first word of alarm. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Benedict of Cincinnati desired an answer to the question: "Are we, in our branch of the church, at liberty to impose the threefold vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, such as was done in the Chapel of the Holy Cross by the Assistant Bishop of New York, on the 25th of November, in the midst of a most solemn service during the celebration of the Holy Communion?" "Nothing for years has so startled me," he said.

Two weeks later, December 27, Rev. R. G. Wilson, of St. Luke's, Troy, applauded the Assistant Bishop. Mistaking, as many did, the real intention of the Order, and thinking that its purpose was mainly the service of the very poor, he dwelt upon the need of unmarried clergy for that work; the parson should live among his people; such a neighborhood as Seventh Street and Avenue C was no place to which to bring a wife and children. But Rev. Robert Wilson of Charleston, South Carolina, shared in Dr. Benedict's alarm. The vows, he said, "sent a thrill through the length and breadth of the church in this land."

"Has the verdict of the ages," he asked, "been set aside, and is the revival of monachism an acknowledged necessity of the day?"

Another correspondent remembered how, in 1849, Bishop Ives of North Carolina had founded an Order of the Holy Cross at Valle Crucis, and had afterwards abolished it, saying that "from his experience of the results upon the minds of young men he was satisfied that no vows, besides those expressly required by our ritual, ought to be taken in our Church." He did not add the curious fact that Bishop Ives, in 1852, resigned his bishopric and became a member of a church in which such vows are held in high esteem.

But the opposition had already found its chief spokesman in the Presiding Bishop. The death of Bishop Smith had left Bishop Alfred Lee of Delaware the senior among his brethren. On December 11th, he wrote Bishop Potter a note of friendly but very serious criticism and protest. And this, on December 15th, Bishop Potter answered at some length.

"I take the liberty of a brother bishop," wrote Bishop Lee, "to express to you, with the utmost respect and affection but with plainness and candor, the astonishment and distress occasioned by your recent unexampled act, the admission of Mr. Huntington to a so-called religious order, after requiring of him the well-known Romish vows.

"When first mentioned, I discredited the report. Upon reading the published accounts I find the ceremony, with the language used, even more objectionable than it had been represented. In that service not only the whole monastic system was sanctioned by you, in your official character, but attributed to divine inspiration, the solemn language of our ordinal being adopted. It has been on trial for hundreds of years, and with whatever of sincerity and zeal started under different forms, the fruits have been evil and pernicious. It was utterly repudiated by the Church of England at the Reformation, and has since

been rejected with loathing by several Roman Catholic countries. Sacerdotal celibacy has a history of shame, suffering and sin, traced in indelible characters. The corrupt morals of the priesthood wherever Romanism is in the ascendant is a notorious fact and frightful comment on the attempt to over-ride God's laws and to set up a purer standard than the Holy Scriptures. No attempt, however specious, to introduce the system in our Church can fail to awake earnest and indignant condemnation.

"Now, my dear brother, this is not a matter that concerns simply yourself and your diocese. The whole church is most deeply concerned, especially the Episcopate. We are one body. The character, reputation, influence and official acts belong, in a sense, to all.

"I will not now remark upon the phraseology employed, so unknown in our formularies, and open to severe criticism. But I do entreat and charge you, in the name of God, to pause before the repetition of such an act, and I wish that it might be possible for you in some way to allay the intense anxiety and alarm which will be felt throughout the Church."

Bishop Lee signed himself, "In Christian love, your own friend and your father's friend."

"I have your letter of the 11th," said Bishop Potter in reply, "and am sincerely pained to learn from it that any act of mine has been such as to give you occasion of alarm and distress.

"The ceremony to which you refer was not, in more than one particular, such as commended itself to my taste or judgment, but inferring from it my 'sanction of the whole monastic system' you are, I think, reading into it more than is warranted by the facts.

"A young man took a vow of celibacy, poverty and obedience to the rules of the Society into which he invited himself. It is in substance precisely the same vow which is taken by every woman who joins a Sisterhood. Her obligations bind her to poverty, to a single life, and to

obedience to the rules of the Sisterhood. But Sisterhoods have received the implicit if not explicit recognition and sanction of the Church in its highest missionary and legislative councils, and are an established part of its machinery of service. I am unable to see that the right of Sisterhoods to exist among us does not imply the same right in Brotherhoods established for the same purpose.

"As to the history of Religious Orders, I am not ignorant, and as to their possible dangers, I am sure I am not indifferent. That they became corrupt and scandalous during the pre-Reformation days is a fact not open to dispute. So did the Church itself. But the Church was reformed, while Religious Orders, in England, on the other hand, were destroyed. On the theory that the Reformation was a finality (which is, I know, the theory, or rather the profound belief of many excellent men) there is no appeal from this action, and there can be, it is assumed, no question as to its wisdom. But I cannot say that, in my judgment, the Reformation was a finality. As to its enormous benefits to the Church, and to human society, I am in no doubt at all, and I revere some of its leaders with a profound and grateful homage. But they were men, and the frailties and mistakes of men are seen in all that they did. The iconoclastic spirit, of which we may see an illustration in the west front of Exeter Cathedral, appears in sweeping and wholesale destructions and expulsions other than those connected with material structures. Perhaps the Religious Orders of that day did not deserve to be spared. Certainly, the so-called 'contemplative' Orders, who claimed (as some of their successors still claim) to be known and designated as 'the Religious,' merited scanty forbearance in an age when multitudes were perishing while they were chanting litanies and spending their days in splendid religious 'functions,' and over questions of upholstery and embroidery.

"But what is the situation in the case of the two young men who have been admitted to the Brotherhood to which

your letter refers?[1] Here is first one young man and then another, who feel profoundly moved by the condition of the godless thousands and ten thousands who crowd our tenement-houses in New York. Do you know, my dear and honored Presiding Bishop, what a tenement-house in New York is? Do you know the profound and wide-spread apathy of the Christian community concerning these schools of poverty, misery and almost inevitable vice? Do you know that our own Church's mission work in New York has, thus far, not touched the fringe of this awful mass of sorrow and sin? All this these young men came to see and know, by personal observation and actual contact.

"And then they said, and said as I believe rightly, If we are to reach these people we must, first of all, *live among them.* It will not answer to have a home and interests elsewhere, and then to walk over to the Mission Chapel and go about among the tenement population three or four times a week. If we are to get close to their hearts we must get close to their lives.

"And then, too, they said, 'If we are to do this work we must strip like the gladiator for the fight. We must be disencumbered of every tie and interest that can hinder or embarrass us. We must be willing to be poor, to live alone, to obey a fixed rule (or regimen) of life, that so we may give ourselves wholly to this work.'

"There was a time when our Master said, 'Carry neither purse nor scrip.' There was a time when His Apostle said, 'He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord that he may please the Lord,' and again, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.' There was a time, in a word, when in a special emergency, men voluntarily took on them the soldier life and the soldier rule, turning their backs on home and gain and a self-directed life.

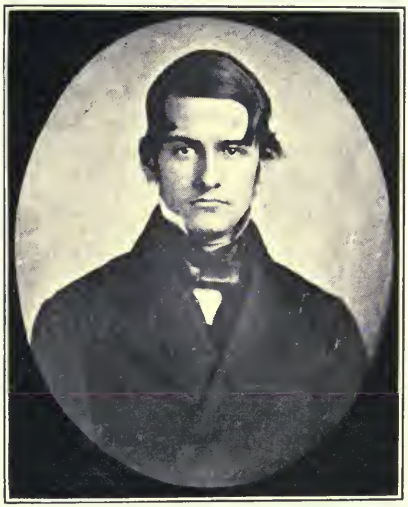
"'It is such a time and such an emergency that confronts

[1] Mr. Dod was admitted only as a "novice."

us to-day. We do not want the help of a Brotherhood to retreat from the world, merely to coddle our selfish souls and call it sainthood, we want a rule and vows that shall bind us to a hard task under sanctions the most august and urgent.'

"And so they took their vow. I do not see how they can be faulted unless all particular and special vows are wrong. It may be said that their baptismal and ordination vows are enough. But if a clergyman came to you (as once and again such an one has come to me) and said, 'I am in danger from a tendency to intemperance, I want to take a vow of total abstinence. I want to take it with the most solemn sanctions, in your presence, on my knees, with my hands on the Holy Bible,' would you refuse him? Is he not entitled to every such help so long as the thing which he vows is not in itself sinful or inconsistent with the Christian calling? And is poverty inconsistent with the Christian calling? is the unmarried state? is obedience to a daily rule of work and prayer? To say that these things may be abused is to say what may be said of the Bible, or the sacrament, or any other means of grace. Prayer, or church-going, may be so indulged in as to lead to the neglect of daily duties and the most important obligations. But such an error is not the danger of our time, nor is poverty, nor the surrender of the privileges and pleasures of the married life, or of the freedom of our own way.

"And if it be said that such vows are the setting of a standard of piety not known to the Church, and the arrogance of a superiority over other Christian disciples, it is enough to say on the one hand that there is no slightest assertion of such superiority, and on the other that the threefold vow of this Order of men only follows the accepted usage in regard to the threefold obligation of the Orders of women. It is, indeed, assumed, I understand by those who criticise them, that the vows to which you refer are irrevocable, and this is regarded as an especial



Henry Codman Potter

About 1854

reason for protesting against them. If it were true, it would be. But it is not. I should have declined to administer such vows, and those which I did administer were *explicitly acknowledged* to be revocable either at my own discretion or at the urgent request of him who took them.

"You conclude by remarking, 'this is not a matter which concerns simply yourself or your diocese. The whole church is most deeply concerned, and especially the Episcopate. We are one body. The character, reputation, influence, and official act belongs in a sense to all.'

"I am not quite sure that I understand this language, but if you mean (*a*) that the administration of a vow to any person who desires to take it is distinctly an 'official,' *i.e.* an episcopal, act, then I have only to say that it is competent to any presbyter to administer such vows as you refer to, and that my act was in no sense episcopal. It was not a confirmation, or ordination, or consecration. It was receiving a promise — a vow, solemn and unique indeed, but so in a sense every vow should be.

"Or, if you mean (*b*) that any individual act of mine, however unofficial, binds all my brethren, then I can only say such a position is one which would leave one without any individual discretion whatever. I went the other day to lend the sanction of my presence and voice to the opening of a free library by persons who do not profess even to be Christians, and whose only aim is to provide pure and instructive secular reading for poor people. I presume the great majority of my episcopal brethren would say that I had no business to have been there, but if I had supposed or understood that my liberty of action in such a case was surrendered when I was consecrated a bishop, I would have refused the heavy burden which I now bear, as involving not only a burden but a bondage not to be endured.

"One word more, and I am sure you will not misunderstand it. You subscribe yourself with, I am sure, true and tender affection — would that I were worthier of it!

'In Christian love your own friend, and *your father's friend.*' Believe me, my dear Presiding Bishop, you could have conjured by no more potent earthly spell than that! I revere my father's memory as that of the noblest prelate and the wisest man I ever knew. I am not worthy to bear his name, still less his great and holy office. But all that I know of generous and fair dealing with men of various minds and faiths within the Church of God, he taught me. He dreaded the taint of Roman error and I do. But he believed that things that had been abused were not necessarily evil in themselves. And had he lived on and into the new conditions and sore needs of our day, he would have owned, I think, that an Order of Men under obligations in no essential particular different from those of Orders of Women might do a John the Baptist's work if need be, crying in the wilderness of a great city's sin that men should repent and open in their hearts a highway for their Lord. If I did not think that he would have thought so, you may be sure that I would not have done what I have.

"And yet I may be mistaken. I may well distrust my own judgment when it conflicts with yours. And I desire to say therefore that in this matter I shall be entirely ready to submit myself to the judgment of my fathers and brethren in the episcopate. If they think that I have erred, or have exceeded my authority, I shall not hesitate to advise my young brother that in administering to him vows which have been objected to I am deemed to have transcended my powers, and to have acted unwisely and wrongly, and that therefore, so far as I am concerned, he is dispensed from their obligations thenceforth and finally.

"But will you forgive me if I add that in doing so I shall not surrender my own judgment as to the expediency and propriety of my action, until convinced by arguments more sufficient and conclusive than have yet been addressed to me.

"And, having said this much, will you still further pardon me if I also add that pressed as I am by manifold duties

which leave me scant leisure and less time for controversy, with this letter this correspondence, so far as I am concerned, must close? Having given my reasons for the act which you fault, and having expressed my readiness to submit to the judgment of my fathers and brethren in the episcopate, I must be permitted to turn my face and my thoughts to other tasks and immediate duties."

In a postscript, he added that as a means of indicating his readiness to submit to the judgment of his brethren he would take the liberty of sending to the bishops a copy of this correspondence.

Bishop Lee replied in a letter of great length. "We have observed," he said, "with great thankfulness your zealous and energetic labors for the promotion of temperance, for the elevation intellectually and morally, of the laborer, your endeavor to reclaim the fallen and to gather outcasts within the fold of Christ. But I am at a loss to see the necessary connection between such commendable and charitable works and ceremonies of the kind practised at the consecration of Mr. Huntington." Many persons, he said, are doing such work effectively and at the cost of self-sacrifice, but "unostentatiously, without calling upon the world to behold and applaud their self-devotion and heroism." He cited the sad history of religious orders. Even St. Francis failed to overcome their fatal tendency to arrogance and avarice. The principle, he continued, is inherently vicious.

As for Sisterhoods, he remembered that the matter had been discussed in the General Conventions of 1877 and 1880, and that the recommendation of the House of Bishops that no sister should take a vow of perpetual obligation, and that every Sisterhood should be under "adequate episcopal supervision," had failed to pass the House of Deputies. "So that attempts to obtain for Sisterhoods the recognition and sanction of the Church have failed through the apparent unwillingness of their friends to consent to such safeguards against the introduction of false

teaching and other possible abuses as to the bishops seemed indispensable. Where, then, is 'the sanction and recognition of our highest councils?' That such institutions do exist in some of our dioceses, I am well aware. That irrevocable vows are taken in entering any of them, I was not aware. I had a contrary impression at the time I wrote you."

He discussed the statement that the vows which were in form binding throughout life were at the same time "explicitly acknowledged to be revocable." "If," he said, "the member of the Order of the Holy Cross, after making such promises, can withdraw at will, wherein lies the moral force which is sought to strengthen and fortify the man who is to engage in a stern encounter with the enemy. The whole object seems to me to be frustrated by such a reservation. It requires no extraordinary resolve or preparation, or armour of triple mail, for a man to embark in an enterprise with the understanding that if on trial he got weary or discouraged, he may let it alone, or procure a dispensation. Neither does it follow that the administration of a vow gives the person imposing it authority to dissolve it at his discretion. I cannot see what human authority can release the devotee."

As for the vow being one which any presbyter could have received, and thus in no way involving the episcopate, "Why were you called upon to officiate on this occasion, rather than a presbyter? Was it not to obtain for the proceeding the sanction of your name? to obtain in this way for monastic institutions a credit and prestige which they have never had in our church? to gain thereby a vantage-ground for the wider introduction and establishment of this institution? Is this system of pretension and morbid pietism not to go beyond the city and diocese of New York? I do think I am warranted in saying that this act concerns all your brethren."

The public episcopal correspondence ceased at this point, but the Assistant Bishop's table was piled with letters

approving or condemning. Father Huntington had already written: "Some echoes of the newspaper clamour about my profession have probably reached you. I am sorry to have been the cause of the hostile criticism that has been directed against you, and I sincerely regret any annoyance you may have been made to feel. We have always felt that if our work and life were real they would meet with opposition, but I supposed that the hostility would be against us, and had no idea that I should stir up abuse and animosity to one who has been so kind and generous to us as you have been." Bishop Littlejohn was "apprehensive of consequences, which in the breadth of your sympathy and in your earnest desire to promote a very difficult and noble work, were not, at the time, apparent to you." Bishop Stevens wrote "with great pain and regret" to say "how sad I have been made by the service in the Chapel of the Holy Cross." He found the whole service "contrary to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church." Bishop Bedell had been given "a severe shock." Dr. Satterlee, afterwards Bishop of Washington, wrote from the rectory of Calvary Church, "it was a sad service to me."

On the other hand Bishop Whitehead thanked Bishop Potter for "being brave enough to put into words what so many of us feel, that the Reformation was not a finality." Bishop Scarborough deprecated the letter of the Presiding Bishop, in which he found the peril of a new papacy. Bishop Knickerbacker said, "I heartily approve of your course." Bishop McLaren wrote, "Of course, I detest monkery in its abuse, but knowing Huntington and his work, I would we had a thousand such."

Dr. Richards was almost convinced by Bishop Potter's letter. "It quite removes the one gravest objection to your course, in saying that those vows were explicitly acknowledged to be revocable. I think nobody understood this, and that the chief opposition to the matter has been silenced by your assurance. If that statement

had been contained in the original report, I believe all sober and true men would have held their peace, even while they doubted. One thing, I believe few have doubted, — the spirit of your act, its generosity, its courage, its practical aim. If there are still some who think that the immediate benefit may not compensate for the ultimate, historically proven perils of such an order thus publicly set on foot, why I suppose you will have to leave the future to decide between them and you."

Even Heber Newton wrote a letter of confidence and approval. "I was greatly annoyed and indignant," he said, "to see in yesterday's *Herald*, just before leaving the city, a three-quarter-of-a-column interview with me on the subject of Mr. Huntington. I telegraphed you on my way out that the interview was a wholesale fabrication, no reporter coming to see me. No one whatever could have gotten a word from me on the subject. The report yesterday is a lie from beginning to end. Some nasty fellow took a report of my remarks in the Wiclif sermon, and interjected questions, and made it appear like a conversation; adding wholly new matter out of his own consciousness; and concluded with a paragraph from the same sermon, having no reference whatever to the matter in hand. It is a stupid piece of work for the *Herald*, and an unpardonable outrage, if the editor knew its character. I trust that one of your early episcopal fulminations will be to charge upon the big bullies of civilization, the newspapers. I have sins enough of my own to answer for, without having fathered upon me any utterances which the geniuses of the press imagine I ought to say.

"They seem to use me at present as the raw material for any sensation they want to kick up in theological circles, and there are fools enough in our own ministry to abet them in this happy thought.

"If you at any time find me reported to have criticised your action, write it down a lie. In the Wiclif sermon I came right upon the question of monastic orders. I would

not have gone out of my way to raise the subject in the pulpit, but when it thrust itself across my path I said a few calm, quiet words upon the tendencies at work in one school of our church; which I prefaced with a disclaimer of not wishing to criticise my bishop, and by an avowal of my hearty faith in his wisdom and judgment.

"I have shown you a year ago my readiness to go all lengths possible to support you, and you will find no warmer backer in any troubles that you may get into out of this affair than myself. While I am utterly opposed to the revival of a system which has been tried and condemned by history, I will for one be behind you with a stout club, where all your other loyal presbyters will be, if the dear Papa of Delaware attempts to call you in question before the church for your liberty and right as a bishop. You have got the most affectionate and loyal following in your presbyters, who are very much tempted to say 'Our Bishop, right or wrong.' We all know what a mighty job you have on your hands, and we follow your enthusiastic labors with our admiration and our prayers."

So said many other less conspicuous, but no less loyal, parsons. Among the lay supporters came the President of Cornell University, Dr. Andrew D. White, saying, "Allow me to thank you most heartily for your letter to Bishop Lee which I find in the *Evening Post.* It is admirable from every point of view, and I acknowledge myself converted by it."

In the years that have since passed, the Order of the Holy Cross has proceeded in its mission without justifying either the fears of those who were alarmed by its appearance, or the hopes of those who found in it a new service of the poor.

The Order grew very quietly and slowly. Father Huntington was for a good while its only professed member. The next imposition of its vows attracted no great attention. Bishop Lee did not pursue the matter further, and Bishop Potter's action was not made the subject of any official consideration. The *Churchman,* in its gentle

way, expressed the general mind. "The straightforward and brotherly letter of the Bishop of Delaware," it said, "gives full expression to the opinions which were entertained by many on first hearing of the service of profession. The equally kind and direct letter of the Assistant Bishop of New York explains very clearly and frankly his position and his own reasons for taking part in the service." Bishop Potter, in his next Convention Address did not refer to the matter. "On the 14th of September," he said, "I consecrated the Church of the Holy Cross, in this city, designed for mission work more especially among the large German population who surround it. . . . On the day of its consecration it was filled by a congregation among whom the large body of workingmen was a notable feature. May Christ be preached in this holy and beautiful house to many weary and heavy laden souls in all the fullness of His perfect and completed sacrifice."

It appeared, however, that the mission to workingmen was only an incidental, or even accidental, part of the purpose of the Order of the Holy Cross. The intention from the beginning was to preach wherever opportunity was offered, to conduct retreats and missions, and to minister to the individual conscience in the discipline of the confessional. They were entirely frank about it, while constantly deferential to Bishop Potter's counsel. Shortly before the consecration of the church, Father Huntington wrote to the Bishop, "With regard to the confessional boxes, I would say that I went at once to Dr. Houghton, the warden of the St. John Baptist Foundation (on which rests the responsibility of preparing the church for the consecration) and he desires me to tell you that confessional boxes and a tabernacle will certainly not be placed in the new church.

"There is in the south wall of the sanctuary an aumbry or locker. This is intended for holding the sacred vessels, and not for Reservation of the Sacrament. I have, however, seen it so used in Scotland, where, as you know, the Prayer Book allows Reservation for the sick. I mention

this that we may not be open to the charge of hiding anything, however small. I first saw an aumbry in St. James' Church, Syracuse.

"For the reason just mentioned I would say that there is to be a rood-beam with a crucifix on it, and figures of St. Mary and St. John, and also seven lamps suspended from it.

"For ourselves we feel most deeply your great kindness to us, and we desire to heed your counsel wherever or however given. We do try to set aside personal liking and individual taste and to have an eye simply to the glory of God and the good of the souls submitted to us. At the same time we feel sure that you would not wish us to forego the use of anything of real spiritual benefit to our people which is allowed and provided for by the Church, and we cannot but feel that confession — *not* in the sense of an obligation upon all, but of a privilege extended to those who feel a need for it — must be a fixed and definite feature of our mission work. But while saying this, we wish to disclaim (since the opportunity is now given) the use of *direction* in the technical sense of the word. The laying upon the conscience of a penitent of commands which are not the expression of the revealed will of God, or even the enforcement of the dictates of the penitent's own conscience, but which rest simply on the authority of the priest, *this* seems to us fraught with danger to both priest and penitent, and to be the source of many of the worst evils connected with confession in the past."

The subsequent removal of the Order from the tenement-house district, and its establishment, after some years, in a monastery among the green fields of West Park, on the bank of the Hudson, while it dulled the point of some of the most convincing paragraphs of Bishop Potter's letter, was entirely consistent with the plans which the founders of the Order had in their minds.

Concerning the nature of the vows, whether revocable or irrevocable, Bishop Potter wrote on September 15, 1885,

to Mrs. Katherine C. Geer, "In reply to your letter of the 10th inst., I beg to say that, so far as I am aware, there are no irrevocable vows in the Anglican Church, or our own, but that one may be released from the vow of any Religious Community whatever may have been its nature, by the proper authority in each instance provided, whether presbyter or bishop. I believe there are vows, though I have no definite knowledge in regard to them, which in some Anglican Communities are not regarded as revocable, but, so far as I am informed, they exist as part of the theory rather than the practice of such communities.

"In fact, the Church knows nothing of irrevocable vows, of any kind, except they be the baptismal vows and their reaffirmation in Confirmation. These may be regarded as her 'general vows,' of obligation perpetually with all Christian people. Besides these, the only other vows (which may be called 'special vows') for which this Church in the Prayer Book provides, are those of marriage and ordination. In both these cases, the vow is explicitly, or implicitly, for life. 'Till death do us part' is the language of the marriage service, and in the ordination service the implication is that the dedication of oneself is for life; yet, as we know, in the one case, as in the other, the subject of the vow may be released from it by competent authority. The church as well as the state recognizes a valid ground of divorce, and says to those who seek it on such ground, 'You are free.' And in the same way, while no bishop would ordain one saying, 'I come to you for orders with the purpose of exercising my ministry only for a time,' and while it is distinctly understood on both sides that the ordination vow is of lifelong obligation, yet, for reasonable cause, not at all affecting his moral character (*e.g.* loss of voice, eyesight, or some other physical or mental disqualification experienced subsequent to ordination) a bishop may depose a deacon or presbyter from the ministry. It is the same, if I understand aright, with the vows of Religious Communities. They employ a language which indicates a

general purpose. But, as in the marriage service, it is not thought either necessary or expedient to introduce a proviso or qualification into the language of a vow which is *not necessarily* of lifelong obligation, though it says so; so it is in the vows of a Religious Community. They express a present purpose and design. They can do no more; they ought not to do less. Because one who wishes to take such vows may lose his health or sight, or *his conviction of the wisdom of such a mode of life as he is choosing,* must he take a vow which recites all these conditions, any more than a bride would do so in being married? They are provisions understood and assumed to be reckoned-in, in the one case as in the other; and vows which do not include all such provisos in the case of one joining a Religious Order can be criticised only by those who, very seriously, forget that the vows of marriage and ordination are open to the very same criticism.

"In a word, special vows may express a lifelong purpose. They can do no more, and in our own Church cannot consistently be regarded as doing any more."

He added a paragraph about Roman vows, and then concluded his letter by saying, "if they [such orders as the Holy Cross] are only specimens of ill-regulated and unintelligent enthusiasm, even then, they may well be borne with on the ground that unselfish devotion is not to be too sternly discouraged, no matter how open to criticism may be some of its methods. We must judge in such cases with the aim and purpose in mind. If that is to bring men to Christ, and save souls, we may at least give it a chance to demonstrate, by its success or failure, its competency to do so."

CHAPTER XII

THE CASE OF MR. RITCHIE

1885

The Rev. Arthur Ritchie had come to New York to be the rector of the parish of St. Ignatius. He had been in Chicago, where he had occasioned criticism by his ritual observances. Even Bishop McLaren, a pronounced high churchman, had taken exception to his doctrines and ceremonies. The vestry of St. Ignatius had been in some doubt as to the expediency of calling Mr. Ritchie, but he was "very strongly recommended," as Mr. J. R. Morewood, the senior warden, wrote to the bishop, "by several of the clergy in whose judgment we have great reliance, and who assure us that although he has undoubtedly made some mistakes in Chicago, he himself now sees and recognizes wherein he has erred, and that we need have no apprehension of any similar trouble should he come to this diocese."

Unhappily these promises of amendment were soon found to have been made not by Mr. Ritchie but by his friends on his behalf. He began immediately to conduct the services in New York without any subtraction of the practices to which objection had been made in Chicago. Within a year it became necessary for the Assistant Bishop to call him formally to account, and, on his refusal to obey, to withdraw his official recognition of the parish.

"Having learned," said Mr. Ritchie (Jan. 13, 1885), "that it is customary in the Diocese of New York for parish priests to ask the Bishop to give them appointments for Confirmation, I venture to request that at your convenience

you would assign to St. Ignatius some date, if possible before Easter."

To this Bishop Potter replied, "I am sincerely sorry to have to say to you that it will be quite impossible for me to comply with your request to appoint a time for an Episcopal Visitation to St. Ignatius' Church, or to make any such Visitation, until the services to which I called your attention in our last interview have been discontinued. These services, as I have already informed you, are in my judgment unauthorized and unlawful, and they have been introduced by you under circumstances which have been to me a source of equal pain and surprise.

"I need not recall to you the history of your admission to this diocese. It is not so remote that you have forgotten it, and those who were your friends have never ceased to speak of it as marked by conduct on my part which was alike generous and magnanimous. I trusted you, my young brother, I treated you as one Christian gentleman should treat another, and I leave it for others to say whether you have abused my confidence or no. You have in your possession, unless you have destroyed it, a letter from the Rev'd. Dr. Richey which describes your conduct far more frankly than I care to; and I can only repeat that until you can see fit to dispense with the unauthorized acts and offices of worship to which I have referred, I must deny myself the privilege of coming to a church which hitherto I have been glad to serve, and whose best interests must always be dear to me."

Mr. Ritchie replied: "Your kind letter dated Feb. 5th convinces me that there has been a very unfortunate mistake made through the unwise kindness of some of my friends. It is this mistake which makes you think I have abused your confidence. But I have not done so. Three of my reverend brethren, among them Dr. Richey, wrote to me before my coming to St. Ignatius, and I answered their letters. My answers gave no warrant to any of them for saying that I would not do the same things in New York

as I had done in Chicago. Nevertheless, Dr. Richey, out of honest affection for me, and his own sense of the fitness of things, formed the theory that I had seen my mistake in Chicago, and was too sensible to repeat that mistake in New York. On the strength of this theory, quite unsupported by any facts, he assured the vestry of St. Ignatius (as I found out after I had been here some months) that I would not make any trouble in the diocese of New York. I am now convinced that he must have given you some similar assurance which you thought came from me. But believe me, my dear Bishop, I had never given the slightest reason for any such statement, nor was I aware that any such statement had been made on my behalf till several months after I was settled here. Dr. Richey was so persuaded in his own mind that the theory he had advanced concerning my course of action was the one I should and would adopt that when he found I was doing here just what I had done in Chicago, he felt called upon to denounce me in strong terms in that letter to which you allude, which, however, was not written to me but to one of my vestrymen.

"I certainly came to New York expecting to teach and practise what I had taught and practised in Chicago, believing that the opposition to those things came from episcopal narrow-mindedness, and that in New York wider and more tolerant councils prevailed. Had I thought it right to give up I should have stayed where I was.

"I have never made any secret of my beliefs and practices. I supposed that you yourself were aware of them, at least by rumor. If you will recall the circumstances, you wrote to me on Jan. 10th, 1884, about my difficulty with Bp. McLaren and my attitude to the canon law of the church. I answered your letter as frankly as I knew how, telling you that I had refused to yield to Bp. McLaren in the matter of the shortened Eucharist without communicants, and that I had never taught or practised anything which I did not believe had the sanction of 'this Church.' At that time, I was notoriously practising Res-

ervation and was accustomed publicly to announce 'Benediction' on Maundy Thursday evening. There was not a hint in my letter that I had made any mistake in my past course, or that I was unlikely to do the same things in New York. This was the whole of our correspondence upon the subject. I made two efforts to see you when I first came to New York, before I had been received into the diocese, calling at your office at hours when I had been told I could see you. I was unsuccessful. I wrote you subsequently that if you would name any day and hour I would call upon you. But you gave me no such appointment. When you sent for me to come and see you at Grace House some weeks ago, you never intimated in our interview that I had abused your confidence. You were most kind and gracious to me, and you promised me your counsel upon the only question which existed in my mind about these matters. It was whether I ought, since I could not with a good conscience yield the practices to which you objected, resign my parish and betake myself to some other clerical occupation. Your letter does not give me that counsel, though I had hoped it would. May I not still ask for it? Though I am in the 36th year of my life, and the 14th of my ministry, I am still, as you affectionately call me, your 'young brother,' and as such I claim that counsel which you promised but have not given me.

"And I beseech you to believe that, whatever be my faults, I have not added this to them of 'abusing the confidence' of one who has been so kind and generous to me as yourself."

The Bishop apologized for calling Mr. Ritchie "my young brother." It was a favorite expression with him. As the years passed and he became considerably the senior of many of his clergy, he liked to say "my son." Mr. Ritchie looked younger than his age. He had the advantage of his contemporaries, the Bishop said, "in his freedom from the scars of years." "I can very well understand," wrote the Bishop, "that your impression as to the

circumstances under which you came into this diocese may be as you describe them, though I confess I cannot understand how the impression which was conveyed to me was so little known to you. It is true that you called upon me twice after your arrival here; but I may venture to remind you that the mails were available to you if you desired an explicit understanding in regard to anything before you accepted your call.

"It is quite true, also, that no pledge of any kind was exacted from you before you came here. But I was led to understand that while you did not wish to be humiliated by promises, which being exacted from you might be used to show that you receded from positions taken by you in Chicago, yet if you were given an honorable opportunity of retreat nothing would be done by you that would make you liable to criticism; in other words, that you would not repeat the offences for which you had been admonished by your bishop.

"On this understanding I refrained from indicating any disapproval when it was proposed to call you, though I was assured that I had only to intimate that I preferred that you should not be called in order to make it certain that the vestry of St. Ignatius' Church should abandon its purpose of calling you.

"On this understanding, no less, the Bishop of Illinois withdrew an irregular and uncanonical Letter Dimissory which I could not have accepted, and substituted another that I could.

"This, then, is the situation; if I had believed that you proposed to institute the unauthorized service to which I have called your attention, I should neither have acquiesced in your call to the parish of which you are now rector, nor to your transfer to this diocese.

"Under these circumstances, I confess I was surprised that you should refer to me the question, whether or no, if you could not yield to my request to discontinue the services to which I called your attention, you should retire

from your present post. The answer to that question, it seems to me, ought not to be obscure to a man of honor, and you will forgive me if I say that he ought hardly to shift upon another the responsibility of making it for him.

"Whatever your opinion may be of the services you have instituted, they have never been authorized in this Church, and they involve doctrinal significances so grave and fundamental that it is simply trifling with a serious subject to say of them (as I understand has been said; not, however, let me add, by you) that they are as much authorized as Sunday School and other services for which there is no rubrical warrant. You would be surprised if you could know who, and how many, were the clergy of this diocese — men in general sympathy with your own views — who have expressed to me their pain and surprise at what you were doing.

"Ought not these considerations to have some weight with you in deciding what you should do? Or is it true (forgive me for a frankness which most surely I do not use to wound) that what has been said of you by every one who has referred to you, — whether those who knew you in your seminary days, or all along since then — is indeed descriptive of your character, and that your unyielding and invincible obstinacy is such that having once taken a position, no matter what it may be, no reasoning nor influence can induce you to retire from it?"

At this point the draft of the letter, as it is preserved among the Bishop's papers, shows several cancelled pages, but it ends by answering the question to which Mr. Ritchie had desired a reply: concerning the matter of resigning the parish, "I can only say," writes the Bishop, "that if I were in your place I should not hesitate a moment."

In spite of this advice, Mr. Ritchie hesitated. He discussed the Bishop's letter in detail. "You write, 'I cannot understand how the impression [that the practices censured in Chicago would not be repeated here] which was conveyed to me was so little made known to you.' I think I can

supply the explanation. Those who were responsible for your receiving that false impression knew well enough that they could never get my consent to any such compact. Therefore they purposely kept it from me, hoping that when I had become settled in my new parish they could prevail on me to make the best of my position by accepting the terms of an agreement made in my name, but to which I had never been a party. The appeal to my honor in such a case has small weight with me, since my honor is in no way involved in the matter. I should never have taken the first step toward accepting St. Ignatius' Parish had I imagined I was to become morally bound by any such understanding.

"Again you write, apropos of my two unsuccessful calls upon you; 'I may venture to remind you that the mails were open to you, if you desired an explicit understanding in regard to anything before you accepted your call.' I confess such a desire never occurred to me. I did not suppose there was room for *any misunderstanding* about my opinions and practices. If any one fancied I came to New York to find 'an honorable opportunity of retreat' from positions taken by me in Chicago, he must have been as unacquainted with my character as with my record.

"Still further you write, 'I confess I was surprised that you should refer to me the question whether or no, if you could not yield to my request to discontinue the services to which I have referred, you should retire from your present post.' And again, 'A man of honor ought hardly to seek to shift the responsibility for making it' [an answer to the above question] 'upon another.' If you will call it to mind, my dear Bishop, you yourself, in our interview at Grace House, voluntered to give me your counsel upon the question not at any suggestion of mine, either. I thought it very kind of you to offer me your counsel, and very gladly said I should be grateful for it. Is it strange that I should ask you for what you promised me? It is not I who seek to shift responsibility in this matter.

"However, you give me your counsel quite unmistakably in the last part of your letter when you write, 'If I were in your place I can only say I should not hesitate for a moment.' That is strong counsel, and yet I do hesitate. A man who has assumed in canonical fashion the cure of souls may not lightly give it up. Are there reasons? All that you have given me are: that certain services at St. Ignatius are 'in my (your) judgment unauthorized and unlawful;' the request that I would discontinue the same; the counsel that were you in my place you would resign your post if you could not comply with your Bishop's request.

"For your 'judgment' I have the greatest respect. Still, it is not the law of the Church, and even bishops differ very widely in their judgment upon many subjects. With any 'request' of yours I would gladly comply save where sense of duty compels me to refuse. For your counsel that you would act in a certain way if in my circumstances, I am very grateful. Unfortunately, one man's private judgment in such matters does not always approve itself to the private judgment of another. For a number of years past these censured services have been under criticism, but no one who has criticised them, and there have been bishops among the number, has pretended to allege any rubric or canon of the Church against them, or anything more than his own opinion in their lawfulness. Their lawfulness or unlawfulness is a matter of fact, and in matters of fact even one in lower office may judge as competently as his superior. When any law of the Church can be shown against any of the services at St. Ignatius I will cheerfully yield to it. Until that time I am purposed to continue in my present course even though the lambs of the flock be compelled to seek in other parish churches than their own the gift of the Holy Ghost at your hands."

With this courteously uncompromising communication, whose reasoning would have justified the use at St. Ignatius of ceremonies of adoration of the sun, moon and stars, or

any other ritual not explicitly forbidden in the rubrics or the canons, the correspondence for the moment ended.

"Six tall tapers and a dozen smaller ones burned around the shrine in the Church of St. Ignatius this morning," said a reporter, "and two lighted candles a yard long stood on the floor beneath the high altar. Rev. Arthur Ritchie, in a white gown, stood under the big wooden cross and preached. He made no reference to his troubles with Assistant Bishop Potter. After the sermon, boys in white stoles came out of the sacristy and swung incense around while Mr. Ritchie in a melodious monotone chanted the Episcopal service. A bell tolled as he prayed. After the services were over Mr. Ritchie said that he was certain he would not be tried for his departure from the customary church methods, and that he expected Bishop Potter to come around soon and confirm the candidates. Members of the congregation said they were perfectly satisfied with Mr. Ritchie, and that none of them would go to any church to be confirmed. They think that Bishop Potter will soon appear in St. Ignatius."

At this juncture there came unexpectedly upon the scene the Bishop of Springfield and the Bishop of Fond du Lac.

"Pray do not gratify my friend, Arthur Ritchie," wrote Bishop Grafton of Fond du Lac, "by bringing him to trial. Your wisdom, I am sure, sees the many reasons against such a course. Our low-church brethren should be very grateful to you for not suppressing him, as he is most successful in hindering the growth of high-churchmanship. Just now he seems to be riding for a fall. For many years I have felt the injury done to real spirituality by excessive ceremonial. The efforts made to check it legislatively have heretofore been of such a character, or have been brought forward in such a way, as to compel all high-churchmen to combine in resistance by way of self-preservation. It would, I think, be easy by legislation which in our House would be practically unanimous to put a check on its development. Let our canons on public worship or use of the

Prayer Book contain two provisions — A clause that no one shall assist at the altar or take any part in that service unless he be in holy orders, or be licensed to serve by the bishop. This would, if the bishop so desired, do away with *all* acolytes or servers, and without them there can be no elaborate ceremonial; the churches where there are more then two priests being very few. Also make it obligatory to say the whole of the Communion Service and in the order given, with only such omissions as are explicitly allowed to be omitted."

Bishop Seymour wrote at the same time to the Rev. S. H. Gurteen, rector of St. Paul's Church, Springfield, Illinois, — a church which was used as the pro-cathedral of the diocese — to call his attention to the statement of Mr. Ritchie that the Blessed Sacrament was "reserved" in that church with the knowledge and consent of the bishop. "Without reference," he said, "to the propriety or delicacy of the Rev. Mr. Ritchie's dragging me into his issue with the diocesan authorities of New York, it is due to myself and the diocese of Springfield for me to state to you that according to my present understanding of the law of our Church such reservation for purposes of worship cannot be successfully maintained. I am not speaking of the abstract question, whether it is right or wrong to reserve the Sacred Elements for purposes of worship, but only as to the legality of doing so by us with our Prayer Book. In reference to this point, I am as at present informed clearly of the opinion that it is not.

"I do not know, my dear brother, that you have so reserved the Blessed Sacrament. I had reason to believe that for the sake of the sick you did from time to time reserve the Blessed Elements on your altar, but I had no knowledge of the matter as a fact. I should be willing to grant under certain conditions this indulgence since I can appreciate what a boon it would be to the Parish Priest, but I would be sorry to learn that in any case such a reservation for such a specific purpose was taken advantage of

to bring in a practice which, however right and salutary it may be in itself, is in my humble opinion, as I am at present informed, clearly in conflict with the law of our Church which you and I have pledged ourselves to obey."

Mr. Gurteen replied that the Sacrament had never been reserved in St. Paul's for purposes of worship, and Bishop Seymour sent copies of both letters to Bishop Potter, suggesting that they be put in some safe place "as your protection and mine against the misapprehensions of our brother, the Rev. Mr. Ritchie." He added a hope that this was the end of the matter so far as he was concerned, saying that he had "other and transcendently more important work" to do.

It was not quite the end. Mr. Ritchie sent to Bishop Potter copies of what he called a "stupid correspondence" between Bishop Seymour and himself. Mr. Ritchie, in these letters, acknowledged that he had said to a reporter, "I know of no other Protestant Episcopal Church where the ceremony of the Benediction with the monstrance and the wafer is practised; but in the Pro-Cathedral at Springfield, Illinois, the light is constantly burning over the Sacrament, with the knowledge and consent of Bishop Seymour, the head of the diocese." Bishop Seymour, replying that "the light is not kept constantly burning, but only when the Sacred Elements are reserved for the purposes specified by the Rev. Mr. Gurteen," drew attention to an evil which is far too prevalent on the part of zealous men of all parties in the Church, who in their eagerness to accomplish what they believe to be God's truth and cherish as of supreme importance, are led on unconsciously to themselves to adopt methods of indirection, evasion and sophistical reasoning, which in their normal condition they would never employ." There was some further discussion back and forth as to the exact meaning of the word "constantly," and as to the exact amount of Bishop Seymour's "knowledge and consent!" Bishop Seymour sent copies again to Bishop Potter, saying, "This is the most extraordinary experience I ever had!"

However, on May 28th, Mr. Ritchie wrote to Dr. Richey, "You know me well enough to believe that I am sincerely sorry for the unhappy breach which has opened between Bishop Potter and myself; and I have wondered whether I could not make such concession as would be satisfactory to him without sacrificing principle on my part. In all frankness I would propose to you the following plan, and if you think it worth presenting to the Bishop I shall be happy to have you communicate it to him in such way as you may deem best.

"The Bishop regards our Benediction Service as illegal. I cannot see that it is so. But if the question of legality could be for the present waived, and the Bishop should ask me to discontinue the Benediction Service for the sake of peace and the avoidance of scandal, I would gladly comply with his wish, if he could then feel it possible to come to St. Ignatius to confirm."

This mediation was successful, and in June Mr. Ritchie wrote to the bishop, "It is a matter of much unhappiness to me that I should seem, in my course at St. Ignatius, to be in any defiance of your paternal authority. I sincerely desire to be loyal to you, and to bow to your godly judgment. I therefore propose to discontinue the Benediction Service, and not to resume it without first obtaining your consent to my doing so; in the hope that you will then feel at liberty to visit St. Ignatius' Church, and to recognize me as a loyal and dutiful priest of your diocese." The Benediction Service being the heart of Mr. Ritchie's offence, including as it did the act of reservation and the accompanying ceremonies, Bishop Potter immediately replied, "Your note of the 12th inst. has just been handed to me, and I thank you for the assurance which it gives me, and for the terms in which that assurance is given. I shall gladly hold myself in readiness to comply with your request as to a Visitation, and so soon as I can name a day which will meet with your convenience and that of your people (say between the 24th and 27th inst., as my appointments take me out of town

between now and then) I shall hope to come to you. Meantime believe me, dear Mr. Ritchie, with earnest prayers that God may guide and bless you and the people committed to your charge, very faithfully yours."

"I think you know," wrote the Bishop in a later letter, "that I appreciate very warmly your conduct in regard to the Service of Benediction, etc., and I cannot speak too strongly of my admiration of your reserve and self-restraint under all the newspaper and other criticism which you have experienced. In this you are an example to all of us, and I honor you for it." Referring to the visitation which he had made to St. Ignatius' Church (on the evening of June 25th, 1885) he added, "I want to say that I shall not soon forget the cordial and cheerful courtesy with which you bore yourself on that occasion which, without a single overt act, you might have made very trying and painful to your visitor. Your kindly temper, and the bearing of your people, was something that made the whole experience one to be most pleasantly and gratifyingly remembered."

The New York *Tribune* for June 16th, 1885, said in an editorial paragraph, "Assistant Bishop Potter is fast gaining reputation as an ecclesiastical diplomat. Having quietly, but firmly, repressed the too liberal utterances of the Rev. R. Heber Newton, he has now persuaded the rector of St. Ignatius' Church to give up the Benediction Service, which, evangelical churchmen hold, savors of Rome. Mr. Ritchie promises that he will do so no more, and the Bishop has fixed a day for administering confirmation in that parish. A less careful, or a tactless bishop would long ago have brought scandal on the church by hasty or arbitrary action at All Souls' or St. Ignatius'. The wisdom of Dr. Potter's course is manifest."

Later, in 1899, after a renewal of the former situation, Mr. Ritchie wrote, "I think it my duty to inform you that beginning next Sunday, September 10th, I purpose to comply literally with the rubrics of the Communion Service, no longer omitting those parts of the office which I have been

in the habit of omitting hitherto. Also, that since last Easter I have given up the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament after evensong on Sunday afternoons." And later, he wrote, "It is a great happiness to me to feel that I am no longer out of touch with my Bishop and a very large proportion of my brethren. I hope that I may never give your kind heart any trouble in the future."

Mr. Ritchie, looking over these old letters for the purpose of this book, says (1915), "The later years of my association with Bishop Potter were full of the most gracious kindliness on his part, and of many delightful memories. He was of the greatest help to us in our building of the new St. Ignatius' Church up-town. Indeed, but for his active intervention on our behalf, we could not have attained our purpose."

CHAPTER XIII

THE ADVENT MISSION

1885

THE cases of Dr. Newton and Father Huntington and Mr. Ritchie occupied much of Bishop Potter's time and considerably augmented his correspondence during 1884 and 1885. They called for the exercise of his administrative wisdom. They illustrate the difficulties of keeping the peace in a communion composed of markedly different people, where extreme broad churchmen must be kept in hand on the one side and extreme high churchmen on the other. Meanwhile, "other and transcendently more important" matters were engaging the attention of the Assistant Bishop.

On Saturday, February 23d, 1884, he officiated in Holy Trinity Church at the funeral of Lieut. George De Long and six of his associates in the expedition of the *Jeanette*. The tragedy in which these men had played heroic parts, the crushing of their ships in the arctic ice, their long journey over fields of snow to the delta of the Lena River in Siberia, and their slow starvation there while De Long, the last survivor, kept the journal of their fate to the very day of his death, had impressed the imagination of the people. The funeral was under the direction of the Government of the United States. Bishop Potter made an address. He praised the heroisms which shine on other fields than those of battles.

He was concerned about the small salaries of many of his clerical brethren. An article of his in the *Church Review*, on "Ministerial Support," aroused an extended discussion. He proposed that such of the bishops and

clergy as had incomes amounting to and over $3000 should give two-and-one-half per cent of such income annually to be divided among the two thousand clergy, more or less, whose salaries did not amount to $1000 a year. The plan was discussed by the House of Bishops, but without any resulting action. A correspondent of the *Churchman* suggested that Bishop Potter "send at once to a hundred or so clergymen known to have incomes exceeding $3000 a year (if so many can be found) and ask their pledge to pay for five years two-and-one-half per cent of their income for the purpose indicated. The church would await with a good deal of interest, not to say curiosity, the result." Bishop Coxe observed that men who had large salaries had also large expenses. They must pay $800 for house rent, to take but a single item. He was glad, he said, that "the bishop had startled the church by asking the impoverished clergy, surrounded by an opulent laity, to set the example of properly providing for their brethren by further impoverishment." In western New York they were setting a minimum wage of $1000, and telling the parishes which paid less to credit the minister with the balance as his cash contribution to the annual expenses.

Bishop Potter told the Diocesan Convention in September, 1884, that in acquainting himself with the rural parts of the diocese he was impressed with the need of grouping the clergy under experienced direction. "We send to these feeble parishes and missionary stations a deacon, young and inexperienced, or a clergyman with riper capabilities and fitted for larger tasks. In either case the result is apt to be the same. The inexperienced deacon, left without adequate guidance during a period which implicitly, if not explicitly, contemplates it, blunders, freezes in his unvisited isolation, and escapes as soon as he can. Or, if an older and riper man, he rusts from the disuse of powers for which there is no sufficient employment, and suffers meantime from inadequate support. And all the time the Church is training men at her own charges, whose services ought,

for a time, at any rate, to be at her absolute disposal. And if they were, and if we could group together three or four deacons at two or three centres in each county or convocation, who should live under the roof of the Archdeacon or Rural Dean, or whatever else such a person might be called — the official head being a man of ripe years and paternal spirit (of whom the Church in this diocese, thank God, is not poor) — we should then have a system which would include:

(*a*) Training to those who are part of it;

(*b*) Activity and enthusiasm in the service rendered;

(*c*) Judicious distribution of labor proportioned to need and opportunity;

(*d*) Oversight, constant and personal, of a competent eye and mind; and

(*e*) Facility in maintenance proportioned to the needs of the work.

"As it is," he added, "there is not one of us, I think, who will care to deny that expenditure is ill apportioned, work ill-distributed, and effort insufficiently guided and supervised."

In October, at the Church Congress in Detroit, Bishop Potter made the address at the celebration of the Holy Communion with which the session was begun. "It is well," he said, "that there should be an arena where the utmost openness and candor of discussion should prevail, and where the unity should be rather that of one purpose, to seek and to find the truth, and the peace that of a large charity than of a restricted and enforced uniformity. The church has many wants to-day, but none of them is more real than the want of a tribune of the people, where voices, diverse it may be, but honest and reverent, may be heard, and when themes not always accounted appropriate to the pulpit may be frankly and courageously discussed."

One of the subjects appointed for debate was "The Mission, and Evangelistic Preaching." Dr. Rainsford opened the discussion, and was followed by Dr. Donald.

It was a matter of immediate interest to the clergy and people of New York. For the space of more than a year plans had been in progress for a definite and concerted revival of religion in the city. A committee had been appointed in June, 1883. There had been many conferences. Several times in the bishop's official journal appears the entry, "*Monday,* in Grace Church Chantry, New York, I delivered an address to a number of the clergy of the diocese, and celebrated the Holy Communion." There were preparatory meetings, gradually making ready for a mission to be held in the Advent season of 1885.

From the old-fashioned "revival" the Episcopal Church had stood aloof. The most successful of all revival preachers, the Rev. George Whitefield, had, indeed, been a clergyman of her own communion, but in the great awakening under his evangelistic ministry the Church had no part. The idea of the naturalness of the Christian life and of a quiet growth in grace by processes of religious nurture had prevailed over the idea of conversion. It was held by churchmen that Whitefield and Edwards and Wesley had invented out of their own experience a new way of becoming a Christian. Churchmen believed that the old way was better, the old advance from sacrament to sacrament — from baptism to confirmation, from confirmation to the Holy Communion. The Episcopal Church had been largely recruited by the accession of sober persons who desired to escape the disturbing excitement of revivals.

It was plain, however, that the orderly procedure of the church failed to deal adequately with the indifferent, and that it was not sufficiently effective in reaching sinners. Earnest people felt the need of other methods. They were even disposed, as the sharpness of old contentions became dulled, to learn some lessons from the revival. In England, for some time, clergymen of the Established Church had been conducting revivals, under the name of missions. The idea was in harmony with Bishop Potter's constant endeavor to deepen the spiritual life. It fitted in with the

"retreats" and "quiet days" which he had conducted with excellent results. It was determined to import a successful English Missioner, and under his direction to undertake a general revival in the Episcopal parishes of New York.

In May, 1885, Bishop Potter issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of New York, accompanying a list of twenty reasons proposed by the Mission Committee for holding such a series of services. "I desire," he wrote, "to renew the expression of my deep interest in this proposed effort to quicken the spiritual life of our parishes, to arouse the careless, and to draw the attention of thoughtful men and women to the grave and almost menacing problems which to-day confront us in New York. I am personally grateful to those of the clergy who have turned their attention to this matter, and who, during the past winter, have met regularly and very frequently for the purposes of devotion and conference, and I am glad to know that your plans have, thus far, been so happily matured.

"Whatever may come of the mission, you who have been drawn so closely together in maturing its details have found, I am sure, the great blessing which comes from communing together for a lofty purpose, and in a spirit of mutual trust and regard. But I am greatly hopeful that much more than this will follow from your labors, and that we may be able, by God's blessing, to do something to break up the crust of a routine which hardens all too easily into narrow aims and more or less mechanical methods. We may well be afraid of a faith in mere emotionalism, mistaking excitement for profound moral conviction, and exalted feelings for a deep, settled purpose. But, on the other hand, we have also reason to dread lest the use of accustomed means shall content us with perfunctory service and superficial results. The evils of revivalism are very real, and, in this land, most lamentable; but the church's system, which provides her Lenten and Advent fasts and penitential offices, implies that there are times when we may well 'cry aloud and spare not,' and when

the warning of the preacher of righteousness, with something of the old prophetic fervor and plainness of utterance, may wisely be heard among us. There are facts, stern, appalling, and most close at hand, which concern profoundly those who are living at ease in sin, those who have the stewardship of wealth and influence, those who are astray in the wilderness of doubt and unbelief — the weary and over-worked and heavy-laden, the drunkard and the outcast. And if any clear and searching voice can help to bring these facts home to us, can arouse us to the meaning of duty and the message of God, can comfort sorrowful hearts and help to lift up those who are fallen, we may well welcome it, from whatever quarter it may come.

"I am glad, therefore, that you have asked the aid in this work of brethren from beyond the sea, and from other parts of our own church, and that they are coming to help us. For one, I shall welcome them with grateful and affectionate interest and regard; and the whole church in this diocese will pray, I am sure, that God may give them courage and strength and wisdom for their work.

"In that work it is gratifying to know that a goodly number of the parishes in New York are already prepared to unite. If there are others who, as yet, do not see their way to take part in what must honestly be regarded as an experiment, I am sure that you, and those who are to be associated with you, will not fault or misjudge their reserve. And I am no less sure, on the other hand, that, if they cannot formally coöperate in their effort, such brethren will not withhold from you their prayers and best wishes for the true and lasting success of your labors."

Thus he commended them to God and to the word of His grace.

He referred again to the mission in his annual address in September, 1885. "Unlike many of my brethren who hear me," he said, "I have had no opportunity to observe the actual workings of a mission in our Mother Church, and

have no other knowledge of its methods and results than is within the reach of churchmen anywhere. But there are those whose knowledge of such methods is personal and extensive, there are others whose enquiries in regard to them have been minute and thorough, and there are others still, of whom I am one, who are profoundly sensible with what indifferent success after all we are doing the work to which our Master has commissioned us. And just here, I may venture to urge a consideration drawn from our common experience the force of which, I think, will hardly be disputed. No priest or pastor, no devout layman has ever passed through the season of Lent without at some time or other owning how special efforts to search out and arouse the careless have reacted in lasting blessing to his own soul. A sermon to the unconverted, a penitential service for the erring or the indifferent, an effort to recover to the reverent use of the ordinances and sacraments of the Church those who have long neglected them, these may not always be successful; but one thing we do know — that they do not leave us where they found us, and that more than once it has happened that whether those for whom we have striven have turned and repented or no, God has left a blessing behind Him. The Cross has come to be a more real thing to us, and its august and awful sacrifice a mightier power in our own lives.

"It may easily be that in the proposed Mission in New York all that we hope or aim to effect may not be accomplished. It may easily be, and of this I think it right to make the most candid and unreserved mention, that methods that are adapted to another ecclesiastical meridian are intrinsically unsuited to our own. It may also be that, in so far as they have any distinctive quality and value they have already been abundantly tested in this land — though at this point we may wisely remember that they have never heretofore been employed (as they will be in this case) by those whose training and taste, so far as the uses of religious excitement are concerned, have so

taught them to be impatient of mere emotionalism. Nevertheless, when all this is said the single fact remains, that never before has so united, so extensive and so many-sided an effort been proposed among us to enlist all classes of church people, and every individual layman and laywoman of whatever gift and opportunity in one common effort to lift up the spiritual level of our people, and to send us all forth together to seek and to save that which is lost. And therefore I cannot bring myself to believe that, however little a mission may realize our immediate hopes as to the rescue of those for whose salvation it is primarily intended, it will not issue in a general quickening of our own spiritual life, and real awakening of our united activities.

"For that awakening the cause of God stands waiting, and if I could repeat to you here what has been told to me by those who have been conferring together during the past year, of that quickening and deepening of their own spiritual life which has come to them from those Monday celebrations of the Holy Communion in the early morning, with the subsequent meetings for prayer and conference — how hearts have been stirred and warmed, how mutual suspicions and prejudices have been dispelled, how the gravity of a great crisis in the church's life has dawned upon them, how the need of making our common Christianity a more real and helpful thing to that great multitude who now disdain its influences or neglect its ordinances, how the work of the ministry and the tremendous responsibilities of Christian discipleship in these days and in this city — how all these have been brought back to them, I am sure you would own with them that no method was to be neglected which had in it the promise of still larger benefits and yet more enduring results."

The mission was held simultaneously in twenty-one parishes. On Friday, November 23, the Bishop met the clergy of the city at the Church of the Heavenly Rest for a service introductory to the mission; on Friday, Decem-

ber 18th, at Trinity Church, he presided and spoke at the last of the mission services for men. The Rev. W. Hay M. H. Aitken, superintendent of the Church of England Parochial Mission Society, came over from England. He had had experience in the Twelve Days London Mission in 1869, and in innumerable lesser missions since. The Rev. Dr. Francis Pigou came down from Canada, where he was vicar of Halifax. Another English missioner was the Rev. E. Walpole Warren, vicar of Holy Trinity, Lambeth. Father Betts of St. Louis, and Father Larrabee of Chicago conducted the services at St. Mary the Virgin's. At the Church of the Redeemer, Father Grafton from the diocese of Massachusetts and Father Prescott from the diocese of Wisconsin conducted what the *Churchman* called "an exacting and comprehensive line of ministrations." "Here," said the reporter, "early English preaching goes with early English liturgy." Dr. Courtney of Boston, Dr. Campbell Fair of Baltimore and Mr. Crapsey of Rochester were among the preachers. Dr. Richard Newton, nearly ninety years of age, and looking like the blessed patriarchs of whom his son Heber spoke so lightly, preached at St. Mark's Chapel, every night for a week, to nearly fourteen hundred children at a time. "To think," exclaimed Dr. Newton, coming into his son's study with both hands upraised, "to think that we live to see a revival in Trinity Church, closing with extempore prayer!" Mr. Aitken crowded Trinity Church with men who came to hear him answer the question "Is Life Worth Living?" Bishop Tuttle and Bishop Elliott were the missioners at Calvary Church.

In the *Churchman* for December 26th, 1885, Bishop Potter reviewed the mission. He met, in the first place, the criticism that "its distinctive features are only those weapons of other Christian bodies which, having long disdained or denounced them, we are now compelled to borrow." He indicated these differences: (*1*) "The Mission," he said, "is simply an enlargement or expansion of ideas that are

inherent in the Christian year." "All that is included in a Mission — preaching, personal urgency, confession of sins, communion with God in the blessed sacrament of His Son — all these are included in the idea of an Advent season." (*II*) "Again, it is characteristic of a mission that it knows nothing of a divorce of the Word and Sacraments." It brings those whose hearts are touched to baptism, to confirmation, to the Holy Communion. "I am not now undertaking to say whether this way is better than any other way: I am simply stating that it is distinctive of our way. Nobody will pretend that it is the way of those Christians who bear other names (and for whom I need not say I have the heartiest respect) who conduct what are called Revivals." (*III*) "Yet again, — and here I am constrained to speak plainly — there has been in our Mission no faintest approach to the grave error which has stained the whole so-called revival system through and through, that when a man has experienced a spasm of feeling he has 'got religion.' God forbid that I should seem to disparage deep feeling, or deny its place in the tremendous struggle through which, sometimes, one turns from darkness to light. If I did so, I should forget lessons and memories which are at the foundation of my own spiritual history. But it can never be forgotten that the evils of mistaking quickened emotions for the deliberate action of the conscience and the will are to be seen in lives that are like extinct volcanic craters, all over the land. The art — my brethren of other communions must forgive me if, in imputing it, I seem to any one to say that which strains the law of charity, but I know, not from hearsay but of personal knowledge, whereof I affirm — the art which in cold blood, with simulated fervor and by carefully concerted means stirs the sluggish pulses, fills the air with the subtle current of emotional excitement, and on the flood-tide of a contagious enthusiasm sweeps a motley throng into the Christian fellowship to be hailed as having attained the end of religion in a 'change of heart' when they have scarcely

made a beginning at the alphabet of Christian discipleship,—of all this I am thankful to say the Mission has known nothing."

While the results of the Mission are not easily ascertainable, its leading features, he said, may readily be recognized. (*i*) "The Mission began a year ago." During all these months preparation has been made by frequent meetings for prayer, and by systematic visitation and invitation. (*ii*) "A conspicuous feature of the Mission has been its absence of excitement." "The facts of life as they are, the sins of to-day, the indifference and unbelief of to-day, these have been frankly and unreservedly dealt with." But "this has been done without noise or clamor." (*iii*) "Another feature of the Mission has been its informal and personal approach to individuals." (*iv*) "Still another feature of the Mission has been its success in reaching the 'lapsed'—the baptized and confirmed who had drifted away from all habits of religious living." (*v*) "Again, the Mission has illustrated the value of informal methods, and has gone far to win for them a recognized place. The importance of this can hardly be over-estimated. Almost everybody was ready to admit that the ordinary Prayer Book services did not meet the need of exigencies nor suffice to grapple with individuals in a direct and efficient way. Liturgical services imply a previous education, often wanting, and oftener inadequate. Between the masses, careless, irreligious, without devout habits or churchly training, and the orderly worship of the Church as set forth for use in organized parishes, something was needed to mediate. The Mission has shown what that is. It has not disesteemed the various services of the Prayer Book; it has at once supplemented them and led up to them. Greater freedom in hymns, prayers and other details, has brought home to many what something more formal would have failed to impress upon them. There has been nothing to cause alarm, nothing of the nature of reckless license; but much that was simple, personal and direct. And this

larger liberty has, I am thankful to believe, come to stay." (*vi*) "Once more, the Mission has demonstrated two things: the power of the Church to reach men, and the value of trained missioners or preachers. No such spectacle as has been presented in Trinity Church for the past three weeks has been seen since the diocese came into existence. No such congregations have been gathered, whether here or elsewhere, under any such circumstances in all the past history of the Church in this land." (*vii*) "Finally, the Mission has deepened the faith of all who have had to do with it in the mission and power of God the Holy Ghost. We have seen the tokens of His presence, and we have gained a new conviction of the reality of His influence and work."

"The mission idea and its practical workings," he said to the Convention of the diocese in 1886, "have very naturally and very properly been made the subject of extensive criticism, and I hope I recognize the possible dangers of methods which may perhaps, in some aspects of them, seem to bear too close a resemblance to agencies and practices from which the church has thus far been happily free. But I hope also the time may never come when I shall be wanting in sympathy with an honest attempt to awaken the church to a more earnest spiritual life, and to a more active endeavor for the rescue of those who are perishing; and that this was very widely, and in some cases very profoundly, the result of the Mission, I have no slightest doubt."

One of the results of the Mission in the ministry of the Bishop himself was the institution of an annual retreat for candidates for ordination. Canon Knox-Little, during that visit to this country in 1882 which determined the establishment of the Order of the Holy Cross, had held a retreat for priests at the Church of St. Philip-in-the-Highlands, at Garrison-on-Hudson. When Mr. Aitken came for the Advent Mission, the same place was chosen by the Committee of Arrangements for a devotional prep-

aration of those who were to take part in it. The Bishop was much impressed by the beauty and the convenience of the situation, and was deeply gratified when the rector, the Rev. Dr. Walter Thompson, asked him to hold there a preordination retreat for young men about to be made deacons. Such a retreat was first held on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June 17th, 18th and 19th, 1886; and for thirteen years thereafter Bishop Potter never failed but once to conduct these devotions himself. One year he was absent in Europe, and his place was taken by Bishop Capers of South Carolina.

Bishop Potter described the arrangements of these meetings in a letter to Bishop Lawrence (April 27th, 1898). "Our plan for the Ordination Retreat is as follows: We assemble on Thursday afternoon before Trinity Sunday at Garrison-on-Hudson, and begin with a service, in which two of the candidates are appointed to read the lessons, at eight in the evening, after which I make to the candidates an address of a general character. On Friday morning at eight there is a celebration of the Holy Communion with an address. Breakfast is at 8:45. At ten A.M. there is Morning Prayer and another address. At twelve, the Litany and another address. In the afternoon, I see the candidates individually between two and five. On Friday evening there is Evensong, as on Thursday evening, with another address. On Saturday morning at 7:30 there is a celebration of the Holy Communion with a final address, and after breakfast, later, the candidates return with me to New York.

"On the afternoon of Trinity Sunday — and I consider this very important — it is my usage to visit Blackwell's Island, where, as you know, we touch the lowest strata of our social order. I require imperatively all the candidates to accompany me on this Visitation. It includes 'walking the hospitals' and prisons, and after service and confirmation in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd I go from institution to institution to administer confirmation in the

wards. The young men are not excused on any pretext from this service, and I do not tolerate any engagement to plead as an excuse for not taking part in it. In fact, the license of a candidate to preach is withheld until after this service.

"The addresses are, of course, on subjects touching the ministry in its various aspects. In connection with them I may venture to commend 'Clerical Life and Work,' by Canon Liddon, 'Fishers of Men,' by Archbishop Benson, 'The Ministry of Preaching,' by Bishop Dupanloup, 'Seven-Fold Might,' the 'Joy of the Ministry,' by F. R. Wynne, 'The Office and Work of the Priest,' by C. J. Littleton, and 'Speculum Sacerdotum,' by Canon Newbolt — a very uncommon book."

In a postscript he added, "We go to Garrison, (*a*) because it is pure country, — no town or village; (*b*) because it has a small summer hotel, then unoccupied by summer tenants. The students are all quartered there. We observe the rule of silence at table, and have a reader who reads from a biography, usually that of a missionary — Breck, Patterson, Aves, or some other. In the opening address, I discourage all visiting of the men to each other's rooms and all secular talking; and advise much country walking at leisure times, two and two."

"The Bishop would arrive," says Dr. Thompson, "usually accompanied by Archdeacon Tiffany. The Bishop and the Archdeacon were always guests of the rector at North Redoubt, and the students, varying from year to year from twelve to thirty, would find accommodation at the Highland House. On Friday the afternoon was occupied in part with canonical examinations and in part with private interviews. The examinations were always most thorough and searching, and the Bishop was a kindly but exacting examiner."

Dr. Thompson remembers how simple and sympathetic, how direct and intimate, were the Bishop's addresses. Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, in his conferences with

ordinands at Cuddesdon, had set an example in this matter which Bishop Potter was glad to follow. He took the vows of ordination, one by one, and expounded them out of his own experience. He warned the young men of the temptations which would beset them, and gave them his fatherly and affectionate advice. He walked with them through the country lanes, climbed the near hills, and called their attention to the beauties of the scenery, and to the historic and literary associations of the neighborhood. West Point, across the river, suggested the discipline needed not only for the soldier but for every man who will fight successfully in the equally difficult battles of peace.

Late on Friday night, the Bishop would sit on the terrace with his chaplains, speaking with a rare disclosure of his mind and heart concerning the deep things of religion. His natural reticence was broken for the moment by the experience of the day, and by the congenial company of his friends. On Saturday morning there was again a celebration of the Holy Communion, and a final meditation.

He said once that these meetings were among the chief joys of his episcopate. "The religious and spiritual side of his nature came out on these occasions," says Dr. Thompson, "as upon no others. He seemed deeply to realize his responsibility for the spiritual well-being of those to be committed to his oversight, and every tone of his voice was an indication of the fact that not in any formal sense but in very truth, he was speaking to his young disciples in the faith of a veritable Father in God."

CHAPTER XIV

THE CATHEDRAL IDEA

1887

"I AM thankful to be able to add," said the Bishop, concluding his Annual Address of September, 1886, "that in this period of three years neither accident, indisposition nor any other cause has prevented the fulfilment of a single appointment for Episcopal Visitation, though of these there have been nearly one thousand altogether."

The General Convention met in October in Chicago, and when its sessions were concluded Bishop Potter made a journey to Europe. On Thanksgiving Day he preached the sermon at the consecration of Holy Trinity Church in Paris. He spent Christmas in Algiers. On Feb. 4th, 1887, being the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Consecration of the First Bishop of New York, he joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other English bishops in a service in Lambeth Chapel, and delivered an address. He was accompanied on that occasion by Bishop Lyman of North Carolina, and the appearance of the two walking side by side in the procession, and representing the North and the South of their country so recently divided by civil war, added a significant note to the event.

Bishop Potter reviewed the repeated endeavors of the colonial church to obtain the episcopate from England. Even when the War of Independence was over, "the proposal to introduce bishops into America was confused with a design to erect among an independent people a foreign hierarchy. The same spirit which, in the breasts of Englishmen long before and on English soil, resented an alien

ecclesiastical domination, found a new if mistaken expression among their children, and the Puritan dread of political invasion took on forms of protest as violent sometimes as they were grotesque." These hostile conditions were overcome. In 1784 the "ardent" Seabury was consecrated in Scotland; in 1787, in this chapel, Bishop White was consecrated for Pennsylvania and Bishop Provost for New York, — Bishop White, he might have said, by whom the preacher's own father was confirmed, and Bishop Provost to whom he himself was a successor, seventh in the line.

He quoted from Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Sonnets."

> "To thee, O saintly White,
> Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,
> Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,
> Whether they would restore or build to thee,
> As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,
> As one who drew from out faith's holiest urn
> The purest stream of sacred energy."

In the last sentences of the sermon he apostrophized the Church of England: "Honored Mother, hitherto you have been preëminent in Christendom for a scriptural faith, for sound learning and for pure manners. Already you have borne witness in many lands to the Catholic doctrine in all its primitive simplicity and power, by lives of unselfish and heroic devotion. May it be so more and more in all the centuries to come. And when another hundred years are gone and children's children gather here, may you still be found in all the plentitude of yet-advancing triumphs, rich in the gifts and treasures of your heavenly Lord and Head, with no stinted hand dispensing them, in ever-widening circles of beneficence to all mankind."

During this period of absence from his diocese, the Bishop "officiated by reading prayers, preaching and celebrating the Holy Communion in chapels and churches of the Church of England, in France, Spain, Italy, North Africa, and England, whenever opportunity offered."

On January 2d, 1887, Bishop Horatio Potter died, and Henry Potter, without further ceremony, became in name, as he had been in fact, the sole bishop of New York.

Bishop Horatio Potter was in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and in the thirty-third of his episcopate. He had come to his office at a troubled time, when his predecessor, Bishop Onderdonk, was still living, but under canonical suspension. His title, while that condition continued, was that of "provisional" bishop. He had kept the peace in the midst of the strife of parties. After the Civil War, it was under his friendly and pacific influence that the southern bishops returned to their places in the General Convention. In the city of New York, he was an eminent person, gracious and dignified, intent on what he called in a notable sermon the "Stability of the Church," and adhering, it was said, "to the strictest maxims of the Anglican pulpit which were admired in the Tillotsons and Seckers of former days."

Henry Potter, speaking of him, remarked upon the "wisdom and meekness of an episcopate, whose habitual reserve was one of its largest elements of strength, and whose often-misjudged patience and forbearance were based, I believe, upon a sounder conception of the Church as a Church and not a sect, than many of its critics could either intelligently understand, or adequately appreciate. That finest quality in character, the triumph of principle over temperament, this, it seems to me, was the crowning grace of the late Bishop of this diocese. His tastes and sympathies were neither very effusive nor very comprehensive. He had likes and dislikes, and he was not always able to conceal them; but he was indulgent when he could not admire, and forbearing where he strongly disapproved; and when we come to rear his monument in our Metropolitan Cathedral, I think it may rightly bear that inscription which a bishop might well desire above almost any other to have graven above his resting place, 'He was a just man.' May God give to those who come after him grace to cherish his memory and imitate his virtues."

The reference to the cathedral touched a matter very close to Henry Potter's heart. By nature and disposition an administrative person, giving his mind and energy to the devising and improving of effective methods of religious work, the erection of a cathedral had come to seem to him not only important but necessary. It was not that he missed, as many bishops do, the privilege and satisfaction of a church of his own. Still less were there present in his mind the architectural ambitions, the joys of building, which moved some of the princely bishops of the Middle Ages. He desired a working centre for the life and worship of the Church.

Already, preaching at the consecration of the Cathedral of the Incarnation, at Garden City, he had expressed his idea of the uses of such sanctuaries. "We are told," he said, "that new problems confront us in America at this hour, and the building of cathedrals will not help them. 'This is a practical age, and its evils await a direct and practical solution. We want the college; we want the hospital; we want the reformatory, we want the crèche and the orphanage, the trades-school and the trained nurse, the hygienic lectures and the free library, the school of arts and the refuge for the aged, but we do not want the Cathedral.' I venture to submit that we want, a great deal more than we want any or all of them, the spirit that inspires and originates them." "This spirit," he declared, is not the "enthusiasm of humanity," but by all the witnesses of experience, the enthusiasm of religion. And this is kindled in the honor of God. "I maintain that that structure which stands for influences so potent and so extreme cannot be too stately, too spacious or imperial, and most surely cannot be an anachronism in any age or in any land."

He dealt with the objection that a cathedral is the bishop's church, and may lend itself to a dangerous centralization of episcopal authority. "One finds it hard to refrain from a smile when he hears the Cathedral and the Cathedral system spoken of as preparing the way for the undue ag-

grandizement of the Episcopate. Do those who utter such a warning know how much, or rather how little, power an English bishop has ordinarily within the precincts of an English Cathedral?" And if it is urged that we may order things otherwise in this country, "is a cathedral foundation anything else than the creation of a Diocesan Convention, with its clerical and lay representation, its trained priests and doctors and lawyers, its clear-headed men of business, no one of them too eager to vote power even into the most tried and troubled Episcopal hands?"

As for the objection that the Cathedral is "essentially alien to our national ideas and our democratic principles," the answer is to be found in the cathedrals of England. "I would not belittle one of the manifold agencies and influences [which have awakened the English Church], but I declare here my profound conviction that no one thing in this generation has done more to rehabilitate the Church of England in the affections of the people of England than the free services of her great cathedrals, and chief among them the services in her metropolitan cathedral, which, welcoming every comer absolutely without distinction, and giving to him constantly and freely her very best, made men feel and own that she is indeed, as she claims to be, the Church of the people. Depend upon it, we cannot afford to ignore the significance of her example. When once we have lifted our fairest and costliest to the skies, and then have flung its doors wide open to the world, the world will understand that what we say of brotherhood in Christ we mean."

Accordingly, in May, 1887, the Bishop made a public appeal to the citizens of New York.

"Men and brethren, — It was the just pride of a great Hebrew scholar, apostle, and missionary that he was 'a citizen of no mean city,' and it may justly be the pride of those whose lot is cast in the Metropolitan city of America that their home has a history and a promise not unworthy of their affectionate interest and devotion. A commercial

city in its origin and conspicuous characteristics, it has yet come to be a centre of letters, of science and of art. Adorned by the palaces of trade, it is not without ornament as the home of a large-hearted and open-handed philanthropy, and as the guardian of noble libraries and rare treasures of painting and sculpture. More and more are the faces of men and women, all over this and other lands, turned to it as a city of preëminent interest and influence, the dwelling-place of culture, wealth, and of a nation's best thought. Never before in its history was there so cordial an interest in its prosperity and greatness; and recent benefactions to literature and art have shown, what earlier and scarcely less princely benefactions to science and humanity have proclaimed, that its citizens are determined to make it more and more worthy of that foremost place and that large influence which it is destined to hold and exert.

"It is in view of these facts that its influence not only in the direction of culture and art but on the side of great moral ideas becomes of preëminent consequence. It is faith in them, rather than wealth or culture, which has made nations permanently great; and it is where all secular ambitions have been dominated by great spiritual ideas, inculcating devotion to duty and reverence for eternal righteousness, that civilization has achieved its worthiest victories, and that great cities have best taught and ennobled humanity.

"But great moral and spiritual ideas need to find expression and embodiment in visible institutions and structures, and it is these which have been in all ages and lands nurseries of faith and of reverence for the unseen. Amid things transient, these have taught men to live for things that are permanent; and triumphing over decay themselves, they have kindled in the hearts of humanity a serene patience under adversity, and an immortal hope in the final triumph of God and good.

"Said a teacher of rare insight in another hemisphere, not long ago, 'What are the remains which you can study



BISHOP ALONZO POTTER AND HIS CHILDREN

From left to right. Standing: Robert Brown Potter, James Neilson Potter, Frank Hunter Potter, Eliphalet Nott Potter, Henry Codman Potter, William Appleton Potter, Howard Potter, Edward Tuckerman Potter. Seated: Bishop Alonzo Potter, Maria Louisa Potter, Clarkson Nott Potter.

in the land of the Cæsars and the Ptolemies? The buildings devoted to the convenience of the body are for the most part gone, while those that represent the ideas of the mind are standing yet. The provisions for shelter, the places of traffic, the treasuries of wealth, have crumbled into dust with the generations that built and filled them. But the temple, answering to the sense of the Infinite and Holy, the rock-hewn sepulchre where love and mystery blended into a twilight of sunrise — these survive the shock of centuries, and testify that religion and love and honor for the good are inextinguishable.'

"For the erection of such a building, worthy of a great city, of its accumulated wealth, and of its large responsibilities, the time would seem to have arrived. No American citizen who has seen in London the throngs composed of every class, and representing every interest that gather in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, all alike equally welcome to services whose majestic dignity and simplicity inspires the coldest spectator, can doubt the influence for good of these grand and stately fabrics. Offering to all men, of whatever condition or fellowship, the ministrations of religion in a language understood by the common people, bidding to their pulpits the ablest and most honored teachers, free for meditation, devotion, or rest at all hours, without fee or restriction, they have been a witness to the brotherhood of humanity in the bond of the divine Nazarene, and of the need of the human heart for some worthy place and voice for the expression of its deepest wants.

"Such a need waits a more adequate means of expression among ourselves.

"We want — there are many who are strongly persuaded — in this great and busy centre of a nation's life, a sanctuary worthy of a great people's deepest faith. That trust in God which kept alive our fathers' courage, heroism and rectitude, needs to-day some nobler visible expression — an expression commensurate, in one word, with that material

prosperity which we have reached as a people owning its dependence upon God and upon His blessing on our undertaking.

"Such a building would meet, moreover, practical and urgent demands.

"(*a*) It would be the people's church, in which no reserved rights could be bought, hired or held on any pretext whatever.

"(*b*) It would be the rightful centre of practical philanthropies, having foundations and endowments for the mission work of a great city, and especially for the education of skilled teachers and workers, with intelligent as well as emotional sympathy with our grave social problems.

"(*c*) It would have a pulpit in which the best preachers within its command, from all parts of the land, and of various schools of thought, would have a place and opportunity, thus bringing the people of a great metropolis into touch with the strongest and most helpful minds of the age, and affording presentations of truth wider, deeper and larger than those of any individual teacher.

"(*d*) It would be the fitting shrine of memorials of our honored dead, the heroes, leaders and helpers whose names have adorned the annals of our country, and whose monuments would vividly recall their virtues and services.

"(*e*) And finally, it would tell to all men everywhere that 'the life is more than meat and the body than raiment'; that man is, after all, a child needing guidance, comfort and pardon; and that he best lives here who lives in the inspiration of an unseen Leader and an immortal Hope.

"In commending this undertaking to my fellow-citizens, I need only add that it has originated in no personal wish or desire of my own, and that it has enlisted the sympathies of many not of the communion of which I am a minister. These with others have long believed, and stand ready, some of them to show their faith by their works, that in a material age there is a special need in this great city of some commanding witness to faith in the unseen, and to the great fundamental truths of the religion of Jesus Christ. Such

a building would of necessity, under our present conditions, require to be administered by the Church under whose control it would be reared, but its welcome would be for all men of whatsoever friendship, and its influence would be felt in the interests of our common Christianity throughout the whole land. It would be the symbol of no foreign sovereignty, whether in the domain of faith or morals, but the exponent of those great religious ideas in which the foundations of the republic were laid, and of which our open Bible, our family life, our language and our best literature, are the expression.

"As such, I venture to ask for the enterprise the co-operation of those to whom these words are addressed. A native of the State of New York, and for nearly twenty years a citizen of its chief city, I own to an affection for it at once deep and ardent. An ecclesiastic by profession, I have nevertheless, I hope, shown myself not indifferent to interests other than those which are merely ecclesiastical in their character and aims; and it is certainly not the mere aggrandizement of the church whose servant I am for which I am here solicitous. There is a larger fellowship than any that is only ecclesiastical, and one which, I believe, such an undertaking as I have here sketched would preëminently serve.

"As such, I earnestly commend it to all those to whom these words may come."

In a Pastoral Letter, written to be read in the churches of the diocese on Sunday, June 12th, he commended the matter to the attention of his own clergy and people. He reminded them that the project had been especially dear to his predecessor, who had dwelt upon it in his convention address in 1872, and again in 1873.

The response to this appeal was gratifying and generous. Immediately, Mr. D. Willis James, a Presbyterian, made a contribution of a hundred thousand dollars. Other gifts brought up the amount to half a million dollars. It was calculated that ten times that sum would be needed to

purchase the site and erect the building. The bishop thought the undertaking might be fairly completed in twenty years. He hoped that he might live to see the chancel and the transepts.

There was some little misunderstanding of the terms of the appeal as they expressed the relation of the cathedral to the common Christianity of the city. Some thought that ministers of all denominations were to preach in the cathedral pulpit. "The best preachers within its command," had been the bishop's phrase, "the strongest and most helpful minds of the age." These large words seemed to some grotesque, if the selection was to be confined to the ministry of the Episcopal Church. To the *Christian Advocate*, the appeal to other Protestants to assist in the work of construction appeared "a decidedly cool proceeding." The Episcopal Church, it said, is recognized as "only one of the many divisions of Christendom, and one of the smallest in number, and in the eyes of other Protestants it is simply the Protestant Episcopal Denomination. And this sect asks the members of other sects, burdened with their own responsibilities, to assist in building a cathedral!" "Suppose," said the editor, "the cathedral is completed, and the Rev. John Hall enters. Will he be recognized as a minister? Would he be allowed to perform any other function than that of a layman? If Dr. William M. Taylor were to attend, would he receive the consideration accorded to ministers of other communions by Presbyterians and Congregationalists? Would Dr. William Ormiston or Dr. Thomas Armitage be asked to read the form of absolution? Could Bishop William L. Harris be permitted to perform any service which a layman cannot? With such claims as these, is not the appeal itself monumental?"

A New York correspondent of the Philadelphia *Ledger and Transcript* reported a conversation with "an influential and scholarly rector of an up-town parish," who said, "There is no room for what is called the cathedral system in this country. Not only our church polity but the whole

genius of our republican institutions is against it. A great cathedral in the wealthy city of New York would be the first step towards a Protestant Episcopal Popedom. Let the money be appropriated to the building of free churches and chapels in destitute portions of the city, not to a showy cathedral on Murray Hill."

For the most part, however, the sentiments which made themselves audible or legible were in favor of the plan. The venerable Dr. Thomas Vermilyea, head of the Collegiate Reformed Church in New York, welcomed the plan. "I presume," he said, "that the cathedral would be fully endowed so that frequent services may be held, and especially that full and free accommodations will be provided for the poor. All our churches cannot be constantly opened for devout, sorrowful, seeking souls. The cathedral could, and I suppose, would." "God prosper the attempt, and make the cathedral an agency of Christian light and love, widely extensive and lasting through the ages."

"It is my desire," said Dr. Dix at Trinity, "that from this parish church, mother of all the churches in the city, and from this pulpit, there should go forth an expression, as clear as possible, of cordial and entire sympathy with the bishop in the views he has presented and the wishes he has expressed." "In God's name," said Dr. Rainsford at St. George's, "let us throw open to all a beautiful House, where all things lovely and sweet are combined in an effort worthily to worship Him from whom every good and perfect gift doth come."

Dr. Huntington at Grace Church spoke of a "natural fitness in having the religious architecture of a city kept always at least a little in advance of its municipal and domestic architecture." "I can imagine no more glorious destiny for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine than that when finished it should become the home of a great reunited family of God, its open doors eloquent of welcome to all who seek approach, its nave a nation's thoroughfare, its side chapels set severally apart for the various kindreds

and tongues that mingle in this many-voiced civilization which makes our city different from any other city of the world; its choir vocal with its psalms and hymns and spiritual songs that all men love, and its altar rail the meeting-place for all penitent and believing souls who in sincerity and truth are seeking Him whose house it is."

The newspapers of the city applauded the cathedral idea, and some of them undertook to find a site. The *Mail and Express*, of June 25th, 1887, suggested an elevated place which very few New Yorkers, it said, had ever visited. It was a ridge of ground between Ninth and Tenth Avenues and 110th and 120th Streets. "From 110th to 112th Street stretch the beautiful grounds of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum. Above that, for several blocks, there are only a few scattered houses, and then comes Bloomingdale. This ridge fulfils every requirement. It has plenty of room on it; it is high; it is central enough, and it is easy of access. There is scarcely another point on Manhattan Island from which such an outlook — so extensive and varied and looking in so many different directions — can be had. If a cathedral were placed there, it would be at least 250 or 300 feet high, and its lofty spires and towers would be visible over a far wider extent of territory than is now commanded by an observer from the spot. It would be in constant view, within this century, of the homes of more than a million people. Where else in the world can you find such a site; and who can tell what inspiration its mere presence would afford to the hundreds of thousands within whose constant view it would stand?"

A Board of Trustees of the cathedral had been in existence since Bishop Horatio Potter's appeal in 1873. They secured this site, "upon 110th street, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues, and extending from 110th to 113th Street." "Its commanding character and its exceptional advantages in elevation and neighborhood," said the Bishop, "have won from the outset universal recognition. No cathedral in any great city in the world has to-day a site which, for

commanding dignity, will approach that which we have secured — the manifold advantages of which are becoming daily more apparent. Among them is the opportunity afforded for grouping about the Cathedral other church institutions, educational and charitable, thus making the whole a comprehensive and complete expression of the spirit of our holy religion."

Already there had dawned upon his mind a vision which he ever after strove to realize, though he succeeded only in part. He saw on the Cathedral Heights, around the central sanctuary, not only St. Luke's Hospital, but Trinity School, and St. Stephen's College, and the General Theological Seminary.

CHAPTER XV

THE BUSINESS OF A BISHOP

1888

"It is proper that I should say a word," wrote the Bishop at the end of the detailed account of his visitations and acts for 1888, "in regard to a kindly and earnest caution which has, of late, been frequently addressed to me. It is in substance that I have been wont to err in attempting too much, and that I might wisely save my strength, and more effectually serve the diocese, if I confined myself to tasks which the diocese itself, and the strictly construed obligations of my office, impose upon me.

"I trust there is no one who supposes that I would be guilty of the impertinence of obtruding this matter upon the notice of the Convention, if it concerned only myself or my own health or continued power of work. Nobody can possibly consider these of less consequence to the welfare of the diocese than I do. But there is just this sting in such friendly, and, I am sure, well-meant admonitions, that they imply that I have been wont to give to others what, in a very real and sacred sense, was not my own to give, and what belonged primarily and preëminently to my own cure and charge; and further, that because of such spendthrift service where it was not owed, I have had so much less time and strength for labor where it was.

"This aspect of the matter has led me to review the work of the past year, in order to ascertain in this light precisely its character and relations, and the result of that review is as follows:

"During the past year I have filled some five hundred appointments of one kind and another, of which precisely four have been extra-diocesan, and four more of a nature not directly related to the life and work of the church, parochial or institutional, in this diocese. In these figures, I do not, of course, include the half-dozen engagements, more or less, fulfilled during the wholly exceptional circumstances of the late Lambeth Conference, nor some few others, rendered upon chance occasions, when absent from the diocese for rest.

"A man who out of a day of twenty-four hours should give less than thirty minutes of it to the service of his fellow-men other than his own household, would hardly be regarded as inspired by a very prodigal and dissipated beneficence; and as that is a somewhat larger proportion of time than I have given to public interests other than those of the diocese of New York, I presume I may venture to hope that a very general misapprehension will, by these words, be effectually dissipated.

"In fact the labors of the episcopate in the diocese of New York are large and incessant because the diocese is larger and, thank God, daily growing more and more exacting. I can honestly say that these exactions have been to me thus far only a cause of grateful rejoicing, and I have no smallest doubt that when they become too great to be properly met, some wise provision for the emergency will be made."

A distinguished presbyter, the rector of a great parish, having remarked that he could not see, for the life of him, what a bishop did with his time, it may be well to consider at this point some of the manifold interests which engaged the attention of the Bishop of New York.

From this time on, the cathedral was constantly in his thoughts. The Rev. Robert J. Nevin, of St. Paul's Church, Rome, came to his assistance, and for a while gave himself entirely to the work of getting the vast project fairly started, but the Bishop took a large share of the burden on his own

shoulders. It involved many letters and many interviews. It demanded important decisions whose determination affected the whole future. It was the kind of thing from which there is no escape. It was a vital part of the Bishop's life.

Meanwhile, progress was being made in the better organization of the diocese. Five archdeaconries had been "canonically constituted and set in operation." This was done at a time when the title of archdeacon was so unusual in this country as to bring a chill of alarm to timid and conservative souls. In his Convention Address for 1888, Bishop Potter found it necessary to explain that it did not imply any prelatical innovations.

"An archdeaconry," he said, "is no more foreign than a Convocation, a Conference, or a Diocese. Indeed, all these are foreign, if you choose, as are all our titles, — of bishops, priests, deacons, officers of colleges, parish vestries, or any other. There is a vast amount of very silly and irrelevant talk on this subject which, whether in the interests of truth or charity, is very poor and very pointless. I suppose that we in America did not invent our Church, and at best are simply attempting to adapt it to new issues and emergencies. The Reformation dismissed too much, and the exodus to America was attended by still further denudation, which the emergency may have excused but which our emergency most certainly does not demand. 'We want,' say some, 'no archaisms, no unrealities, — no merely prelatical imitations.' No, most surely, but we want all that is best in new and old, if it can be made plain that it will effectually serve our purpose and our people."

"The difference," he explained, "between an Archdeacon and a Dean of Convocation is this very real difference, that the one had no definite responsibility, had no canonical recognition, and had no properly defined function, and that the other has all these; while, in practice, in the mission work of the Diocese, in the administration of discipline, in the oversight of deacons, in the due distribution

of corporate responsibility, the Diocese has now a set of officers, on the one hand, and a body of clergy and laity on the other, which have, each one, a definite area to care for, and precise and clearly defined duties to discharge."

Already the increased efficiency of this method was manifest. "Never before in the history of the Diocese were so many deacons at work as to-day, under proper, frequent and stimulating oversight. Never before were parishes so closely in touch with mission work outside their own boundaries, and so intelligently informed in regard to it. Never before were the contributions for mission work in this city and elsewhere in the diocese in such worthy proportion to our ability to make them."

The Bishop was desirous to enlist in this work of church extension the organized energy of the laymen of the Diocese. He was much gratified at the organization of the Church Club, which was "already beginning to count its membership by hundreds." He hoped to have every parish represented in it. He valued the "larger fellowship" which it involved, the breaking down of parochial boundaries, the opportunities for discussion of great subjects. He came back, filled with enthusiasm, from a service in Durham Cathedral where, at the time of the Lambeth Conference, sixty bishops had participated in the setting apart of men to do lay work, as readers, evangelists and preachers. He wished for such an organization of Lay Helpers in the Church in America.

"Our system of parochial organization," he said, "and our almost universally prevalent traditions, have conspired to educate us in the belief that the functions of the laity in the life and work of the Church are almost if not altogether passive or secular. They are to enjoy its service, and to guard its pecuniary trusts, and then to leave its ministrations of whatever sort entirely in the hands of the clergy. Meantime, neither one nor the other of the great extremes of Christendom, nor the vast majority of those whose place is between them, makes any such blunder

as this. Rome has her orders of Lay-Brothers, and Methodism, though under slightly different nomenclature, has hers. . . . This Diocese should have an organized body of Diocesan Lay Helpers, directly related to the ordinary, duly set apart for their work, and clothed with such powers as will enable them to supplement and enlarge the influence and work of the clergy in the many ways in which they are abundantly able to do so."

In his interest in the improvement of methods he did not forget the unfailing need of enriching and deepening the life of the spirit. "It is impossible that any one should be occupied in striving to make Christ and His work for the souls of men known to others without having brought home to him the need of his own more intimate and constant contact with the sources of all spiritual life and power. Prayer, the Holy Scriptures, the Blessed Sacraments, become new and more precious realities when one turns to them for strength and guidance in the work of a ministry which is committed to each and every one of us as we have 'received the gift.'"

In a growing and changing city, like New York, the Bishop was frequently confronted with the problem of the consolidation or multiplication of parishes. The decision in these matters was placed by canon in the hands of the Bishop and the Standing Committee. The Bishop assured the Convention of his purpose to meet such questions with sole regard to the general good. "The Bishop certainly has as sincere and earnest a desire for the growth of the Diocese as anybody, and if, in any particular instance, interest, prejudice or personal feeling should unconsciously influence him to be obstructive, his Standing Committee, it is to be hoped, would have the courage and candor to express its dissent in unmistakable, and doubtless, ultimately persuasive tones." "I beg any one to whom I speak to believe that in such decisions as for my own part I shall be constrained to reach, I am compelled by considerations of such far-reaching importance as I have here

endeavored to set before you. Such considerations, I submit, ought to lift any and every individual case quite out of the realm of mere personalities."

Beginning with 1867, a Federate Council of the Dioceses of New York had been first proposed, then discussed, then tentatively convened. It was regarded by some, however, with grave suspicion. It was a part of a general movement which has since resulted in a Provincial System. Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, in 1871, had brought before the General Convention a plan "for creating by constitutional enactment, eight Provincial Synods, covering the whole territory of the United States." In 1877, the General Convention, while declining such imperative procedure as was thus proposed, found nothing in the law of the Church to forbid the voluntary association of neighboring dioceses in Federate Councils. In the South, and in the Northwest, dioceses had already combined to maintain certain educational institutions. In the northern part of the Mississippi Valley a conference of bishops, clergy and laity had been called to consider local problems. "For myself," said Bishop Potter, addressing the Diocesan Convention of 1889, "I believe profoundly that questions of discipline, questions of race, local questions of missionary policy and progress, far more than merely local questions of civil or material interest, will compel us before long to turn from such a body as the General Convention, already grown too unwieldy for purposes of efficient legislation, and clothed with no power for administering the laws which it makes, to that venerable and well-tried agency known as the Provincial Synod; and, until we can get to that, to such qualified and restricted form of the same thing as is to be had in a Federate Council."

Such a situation, presenting on the one side a plain need and on the other side a vague prejudice, will be met in one way by an ecclesiastical politician and in another way by an ecclesiastical statesman. The politician, seeing the need, and impatient of what seems to him an unreasonable prej-

udice, will carry the plan through in the face of opposition. But the statesman will wait. He knows, indeed, that "the dark shadow of metropolitan aggrandizement," — in which conservative distrust sees the stealthy approach of a dim procession headed by a Presiding Bishop of the Federate Council of New York, succeeded by an archbishop, followed very likely by cardinals, and completed by the Pope himself, — has no substance whatsoever; but he perceives that the essential evil in these dreaded ills lies in the coercion of the conscience, and he declines to have any part in it. He will wait, in spite of his own clear conviction, until his neighbor is as clear about it as he is. He will postpone decision, that the discussion may go on. He accepts the wise maxim that "an ounce of consultation is worth a ton of explanation." It is this acceptance which makes him a statesman.

Accordingly, Bishop Potter advised the Diocese of New York to maintain a passive attitude. "I am willing," he said, "to strain the requirements of courtesy as far as anybody, but I do not think it necessary that we should needlessly invite dishonoring imputations in order to further the wishes of those from among whom they come. For myself, I think it right to say that the Federate Council having adjourned to meet in accordance with the designation of time and place by the Bishop of this Diocese, I shall, as at present advised, either decline to make such designation until requested by the unanimous voice of the other Bishops and Deputies, or else move the adjournment of the body, from time to time, until the air is cleared of suspicions equally unworthy and unintelligent. There are grave defects in remedying which such a body can largely aid. But they may better wait correction until we can secure substantial unanimity and loyal and cordial coöperation in dealing with them. The principle of the supremacy of the Diocesan Episcopate, like that of State's Rights, may die hard, but the Kingdom of God is larger than any Diocese, and ecclesiastical legislation will one day come to its own."

It would be difficult to find a passage more expressive of Bishop Potter's wise patience, clear judgment and far-sighted statesmanship.

These personal qualities, added to his official position as the chief minister of the largest diocese, brought to Bishop Potter by every mail questions to be answered and decisions to be made. His advice was asked, his influence solicited.

Thus in December, 1888, it came to the knowledge of churchmen in Massachusetts that "subtle efforts" were being made to prevent the Bishops and Standing Committees from confirming the election of the Rev. Charles Chapman Grafton to be the Bishop of Fond du Lac. Mr. Grafton was at that time rector of the Church of the Advent in Boston. Thereupon, the Rev. William Copley Winslow wrote to Bishop Potter explaining the situation, and he permitted him to make such use of his reply as seemed good under the circumstances. "I am quite of your mind," said the Bishop, "in regard to the whole Grafton business. I have become increasingly persuaded that the opposition to Mr. Grafton's confirmation proceeds from sources whose interference deserves to be resented and resisted; and if I could see how properly I could do so, I would gladly do so publicly; for I think we are in a bad way when the question of filling an American Episcopate is to be determined by a foreign Order.

"It would be enough for me, in this case, that the Standing Committee of his own diocese have confirmed Mr. Grafton, even if there were no other reasons for his confirmation; but the more I have inquired, the more I have become persuaded that there is no warrant for the objections which have been urged against Mr. Grafton's confirmation. Unfortunately, the statements which just now are most potential in preventing the confirmation were made under circumstances which make it impossible to reveal their source or occasion. I think, however, in view of all the facts, that any one who has anywhere made statements impugning the character of Mr. Grafton should be

compelled to repeat them openly. It is impossible to fight a foe in the dark, and it is a scandalous condition of things when charges made in private, and under circumstances which make it impossible to call their authors to account, are used as the means of preventing the confirmation of a bishop-elect.

"The dioceses are acting under the influence of a pressure largely brought to bear, as I believe, in consequence of such statements as those to which I have referred; but they have heard only one side of the case, and they are condemning an innocent man on purely fragmentary evidence.

"Such action, I think, it is the duty of every bishop in the Church to disown and disapprove, and as I am persuaded that there is nothing in the history of Mr. Grafton's separation from the so-called 'Cowley Fathers' which does not redound to his honor and manhood, I should be ashamed of myself if I did not gladly avail myself of the opportunity of saying so."

Dr. Winslow sent copies of this letter to nearly all of the bishops, enclosing also a statement expressive of the mind of the Boston Clerical Association. These communications, in some instances, arrived too late, but they served to determine the affirmative votes of a sufficient majority. Mr. Grafton was duly confirmed by the Bishops and Standing Committees, and was consecrated April 25th, 1889.

The following letter came to Bishop Potter from Arden, N. Y.: "A difference of opinion exists here at Arden as to the age and origin of the Catholic and Episcopal Churches, and I beg your answers to the following questions: (1) Which is the older church? (2) When was the Episcopal Church founded? (3) Is the Episcopal Church Protestant? (4) Who was the founder of the Episcopal Church, if any one man merits that honor? (5) If the Episcopal Church existed before the Lutheran Reformation, where did it exist? (6) Is there any difference between the Episcopal Church and the historic Church of England?"

The Bishop made a prompt and appropriate reply:

"(1) They are of one parentage, Christ and His apostles. The Episcopal Church traces its descent directly to them, so that there can be no question of seniority. (2) The Episcopal Church was founded by Christ during His life on earth. (3) Yes, Protestant against Roman error, Catholic for primitive truth. (4) Jesus Christ, 'who has built His Church on the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' (5) The Episcopal Church had nothing to do with the Lutheran Reformation. Catholics in England purified the Church, and disowned the tyranny of the papacy; and then some of them came to this country and built up the Episcopal Church, as it is popularly called. If it is asked, Where was the Church before the Reformation? the answer in accordance with the above is, Where was your face this morning before you washed it? (6) Yes, the Episcopal Church in America is not a state church."

Bishop Potter occupied a part of one Easter Tuesday in the composition of a letter to the editor of a Baptist paper, in answer to a rather triumphant question as to the meaning of the New Testament word *baptizo*. "More learned men," he said, "than you or I have differed in regard to the merely critical and technical question which your letter raises; and, though I do not believe so confidently as you appear to, that the weight of evidence is all on one side, I am quite free to say that the literal meaning of *baptizo*, as ordinarily found in classical writers, is usually to plunge, dip, immerse or whatever word you want to use to strengthen your position. The rubric of the Episcopal Church which directs the mode of baptism recognizes this in the use of the words, 'Then shall the minister dip him in the water or pour water on his head.'

"If this admission makes you any happier, I am glad of it. That in any large sense it is of the smallest significance, I am utterly unable to see. Your conception of baptism as demanding invariably just so much water, applied in just such a way, belongs to the domain of literalism, formalism, ceremonialism pure and simple, by which the Church

has been darkened and hindered in all ages. To be sure, you grossly and habitually violate it whenever you baptize elsewhere than in running streams, and with artificially heated water, in artificially heated rooms. But if you did not, the vice of your position would be the same. It is simply sticking fast to the letter; and out of it has come the 'dip-and-done-with-it' conception of religion which has blighted whole sections and misled countless souls.

"The essence of the sacrament of baptism is water, applied (whether by the handful or by the hogsheadful is, in my judgment, of no smallest consequence) to the person baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. The effects of it are not wrought by water but by the Holy Ghost. To be concerned about these seems to me the matter of real consequence, and to linger in disputations about words is but another form of wrangling about those 'beggarly elements' on which, not alone the Church in Galatia but Christendom in all ages, has been sadly prone to waste both time and energy.

"Of course, I have very scant expectation that you will publish this letter. It is not what you want, and it will not serve your denominational end. But is it not worth while, my dear brother, to try and get a little above the sawdust of the ecclesiastical boxing-ring? Believe me, your readers, far more generally than you dream of, are sick of the strident scream of controversy about words and ceremonies. It has not helped one of them to be a better man or woman. It has too often diverted them from the one truth that you and I and all men preëminently need to learn; and that truth is this: that 'the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God and approved of men.'"

Archdeacon Nelson, through whose hands as the Bishop's secretary the daily letters passed, has described (*Churchman*, October 24th, 1908) some of the curiosities of his correspondence. "One interesting specimen came from a woman

of a far away rural district who modestly requested the Bishop to help her to find purchasers to relieve her of a valuable quilt. Another fair unknown aimed higher, and asked for a big loan to buy a chicken farm. I well remember a curious letter which the Bishop received some years ago from another stranger. This stranger said that he and his wife had arrived from the west for a brief sojourn in Brooklyn, and having heard of the kindness and social prominence of the Bishop, it occurred to them that he might be willing to ask some friend of his on Fifth Avenue to invite them to dinner, in order that they might be able to verify the reports which they had heard of the splendors of palatial life in the metropolis."

Along with the daily demands of this diversified correspondence, and the continual problems of administration, went what St. Paul called "the care of all the churches." The clergy on one side and the parishes on the other brought him their plans, their difficulties, their discouragements, and their complaints. Parochial boundaries must be adjusted, unpaid salaries must be collected, the extensive business of an ecclesiastical "intelligence office" must be transacted, ritual differences must be reconciled. It was the business of the Bishop to maintain what he liked to call "a right perspective," to get lesser matters into places of subordinate importance, and greater matters into the foreground of interest, especially to guard the life of the spirit, in himself and in his people, against the invasion of formalism, of organization and regulation, and of secularity. "A candle more or less," he said, "is of infinitely insignificant consequence compared with those tremendous problems of our modern social life that threaten the foundations of the family, the institution of marriage, the very existence of society. The question of more or less ritual, of the interpretation of the Church's doctrinal standards, and the like, are of very secondary consequence save as they are, first of all, moral questions, relating to the obligations of our ordination vows, and loyalty to our plighted faith. Coer-

cion, for which many are crying aloud, mutual denunciation, which are the stock in trade of a great deal of religious controversy, further definitions, unless they be the definitions of a just liberty — these will do as little for the Church as they have done in the past; but the revival of the sense of the sanctity of a promise — the rebuilding of men's homes upon the eternal sanctity of duty, and the blossoming out of men's homes of a habit of truth-dealing and truth-telling, of purity and self-restraint, — in one word, the reawakening of that old spirit of Godward responsibility which, as it stands over against the Sanhedrin of custom, the Sanhedrin of wealth, the Sanhedrin of expediency and lawless self-will, has but one thing to say, 'whether it be right to hearken unto men more than unto God, judge ye' — this I take it, is that which the Church most wants, and for which the world most waits."

The official reports of episcopal acts printed year by year in the Convention Journal show an incessant occupation which seems enough of itself to fill the whole of a man's time. In the morning he consecrates a church, in the afternoon attends a meeting of trustees, in the evening confirms a class and addresses them, and at ten o'clock speaks at a public meeting. "10 A.M. at the Church of the Holy Faith, confirmed 17 and addressed them. 11 A.M. at St. Luke's Church, preached, confirmed 29, and addressed them. P.M. at the Church of the Incarnation preached, confirmed 25, and addressed them. Evening at the Church of the Ascension, Mt. Vernon, confirmed 21, and addressed them. 9 : 30, evening, at Carnegie Hall, at meeting in behalf of sufferers by Indian famine, delivered an address." He crowded the days full, giving himself without reservation. In the summer, year after year, he went abroad, and laid in a new store of strength; but even then he was not idle, speaking and preaching frequently.

"He had a habit of rising early," says Archdeacon Nelson, "but he was willing to let the sun get up first. His extraordinary capacity for work was well known. The

spirit of energy was a militant force in his life current. However big and thronging his tasks, he met them with the confidence of an athlete confronting the light routine of a practice hour. He sometimes crowded into a single day work enough to satisfy a less strenuous man for a whole week. Only once in twenty-nine years have I heard him say that he was tired, and that was at the beginning of an illness which prostrated him for some days." This ability to work without weariness Dr. Nelson ascribed to the Bishop's regular and punctual manner of life. Every task had its appointed time, and was performed, down to the answering of the letters of his obscurest correspondents, with the constant diligence of a man of business. "Fortunately for him, he was such a good sleeper that he could read or work until a late hour of the night, and then go to sleep as soon as his eyes closed on his pillow."

In 1888, he attended the sessions of the Lambeth Conference. It was a delight to him, as he said, "to listen to Harold Browne and Lightfoot, to Stubbs now of Oxford, and King; to renew in daily contact with the younger Wordsworth inspiring memories imperishably associated with the elder; to recognize in Thompson of York and in Temple of London rarer and nobler qualities than, perhaps, they had been wont to associate with them, and to be thankful that in Harvey Goodwin, in Moorehouse, in Maclagan, in Bickersteth of Japan, in Webb of Grahamstown, in Kennion of Adelaide, in Webber of Brisbane, in Copleston of Colombo, in Nuttall of Jamaica, in Churton of Nassau, and many another, the Church still had among her leaders saintly and soldierly men who had more than one of them, on many a difficult field, abundantly vindicated that title which, in his memorable address at Durham, our own Bishop (Coxe) of Western New York conferred upon them, of being 'men who had an understanding of the times.'"

It was the privilege of Bishop Potter, on behalf of his brethren of the American Episcopate, and at their request,

to address to the Archbishop of Canterbury a letter expressing their "grateful sense of his manifold courtesies, and of the rare benignity, impartiality and patience" with which he had presided over the deliberations.

He preached at Canterbury Cathedral, and Lichfield Cathedral, and St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and confirmed a class at the Chapel Royal, Savoy.

The University of Cambridge, on the 18th of July, made him a Doctor of Laws, and thus enrolled him among those whom they accounted eminent. Writing for the *Churchman* (September 15, 1888) on "Building Civic and Ecclesiastical," the Bishop asserted again the importance of giving to the life of religion an appropriate material expression. "The social progress of a great people has written itself in the buildings for domestic shelter, for traffic, for science and for art, which it has reared, and is rearing on every hand. It is a cloud upon the escutcheon of our American fair fame that hardly anywhere, or at all adequately, have they as yet been matched by buildings for the highest uses of all." It was a part of his constant endeavor to bring into the mind of the people his own vision of a cathedral.

Still more interesting, however, is the revelation which he made of his own mind regarding the situation in religion. He came to the end of the first five years of his episcopate full of confidence and faith. He had been much pleased with the emphasis which the Lambeth Conference had put upon social morality. Nothing could have been more congenial with his spirit than the removal of interest from the ritual and doctrinal debates which had disturbed the Church, and the placing of it upon matters of substantial importance. He saw in this a process of religious reconstruction — a larger vision, a more reverent retrospect, a more dispassionate, and therefore a juster judgment, and therefore again, a more intelligent and a more hopeful missionary activity. "And out of this," he said, "has come to pass that while we know less than our fathers knew about the damnation of non-elect infants, we know

more of the calling of the Church of God as a Divine Society in the world, sent here to grapple with its miseries, to uplift its fallen ones, and to conquer its sin. This is the new note of hopefulness, which, unless I mistake its strain, rings through all our Christian life and work to-day. We are not dealing with worn-out superstitions, we are not clinging to exploded fables, we are feeling anew the thrill of that quickening stir of the Spirit which as it comes once, and again and again, in the history of the race, proclaims, 'Behold, I make all things new.'"

Preaching a year later at the consecration of Dr. Thomas F. Davies to be Bishop of Michigan, he said, "The fact of all others most inspiring in our land and day is this, that never before was the Church, whose children we are, so earnestly at work to understand the situation in the midst of which she finds herself, and so strenuous by any and every lawful means to adjust herself to its demands. An alien, as men perversely miscalled her, in the beginning, from the spirit of our republican institutions and the genius of the American people, she has not failed to show that she is loyal to the one, and that she understands the other. Not always nor everywhere wise in the manner or the methods of her original approach to those whom she has sought to win, she has consented to unlearn not a little of her earlier stiffness, and largely to disown a temper of aristocratic reserve and exclusiveness. As in England, so in America, she is no longer the church of a class or a caste, but preëminently, at any rate in some of her chiefest centres, the church of the people."

CHAPTER XVI

AT THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL

1889

THE most outstanding event in the ministry of Bishop Potter during the year 1889 was his address in St. Paul's Chapel on the occasion of the Centennial of the Inauguration of Washington.

On April 30th, 1789, George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States. The ceremony took place upon the balcony of Federal Hall, in New York, at the corner of Wall and Broad streets. The great crowd in the streets, at the windows and upon the roofs having been brought to silence, Otis, the secretary of the senate, held an open Bible on a crimson cushion, Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office, and Washington, saying, "I swear. So help me God," kissed the book. At the conclusion of the inaugural address the assembly of dignitaries, followed by the multitude, went on foot to St. Paul's Chapel, where Bishop Provoost, one of the chaplains of Congress, offered prayers. Washington then returned quietly to his house.

When it was proposed to commemorate in 1889, the centennial anniversary of this great event, the markedly religious character of the original occasion was had in mind, and arrangements were made whereby again the President of the United States should take part in a religious service conducted in St. Paul's Chapel by the Bishop of New York.

The service was at nine o'clock, on April 30th. The Chapel was garnished with flags and American eagles. The coat of arms of the United States distinguished the pew

reserved for the President, and the arms of the State of New York marked the pew reserved for the Governor. The ushers were descendants of men eminent in American history. At the door of the Chapel, the vestry of Trinity Church met President Harrison and Vice-President Morton. David B. Hill was the Governor, Hugh J. Grant was the Mayor of New York. Former Presidents Hayes and Cleveland were in attendance, and with them an assembly of officers of the Cabinet, senators, members of Congress, and notable citizens, including a score of governors of states. The service began, as in 1789, with the singing of the "Old Hundredth.' Dr. Dix said prayers prepared for the occasion. Bishop Potter made the address.

It was commonly remarked, after the centennial celebration was over, that the speeches which accompanied it failed, for the most part, to rise to the great level of the anniversary. This was said in spite of the fact that among the speakers were President Eliot and James Russell Lowell. The official orator was Mr. Depew. It was universally agreed, however, that to this criticism there was one exception. "The most remarkable address brought out by the centennial celebration," said the New York *Times*, "was the sermon by Bishop Potter at St. Paul's Chapel."

The profound impression made by this address — the most famous of the public utterances of Bishop Potter, — warrants its repetition here in whole.

"One hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman that, when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American; and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader so great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first Presi-

dent of the United States, the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him — the Father of his Country.

"We are here this morning to thank God for so great a gift to this people, to commemorate the incidents of which this day is the one hundredth anniversary, and to recognize the responsibilities which a century so eventful has laid upon us.

"And we are here of all other places, first of all, with pre-eminent appropriateness. I know not how it may be with those to whom all sacred things and places are matters of equal indifference, but surely to those of us with whom it is otherwise it cannot be without profound and pathetic import that when the first President of the Republic had taken upon him, by virtue of his solemn oath, pronounced in the sight of the people, the heavy burden of its Chief Magistracy, he turned straightway to these walls, and kneeling in yonder pew, asked God for strength to keep his promise to the nation and his oath to Him. This was no unwonted home to him, nor to a large proportion of those eminent men who, with him, were associated in framing the Constitution of these United States. Children of the same spiritual Mother and nurtured in the same Scriptural faith and order, they were wont to carry with them into their public deliberation something of the same reverent and conservative spirit which they had learned within these walls, and of which the youthful and ill-regulated fervors of the new-born republic often betrayed its need. And he, their leader and chief, while singularly without cant, or formalism, or pretence in his religious habits, was penetrated, as we know well, by a profound sense of the dependence of the republic upon a guidance other than that of man, and of his own need of a strength and courage and wisdom greater than he had in himself.

"And so, with inexpressible tenderness and reverence, we find ourselves thinking of him here, kneeling to ask such gifts, and then rising to go forth to his great tasks with mien so august and majestic that Fisher Ames, who sat

beside him in this chapel, wrote, 'I was present in the pew with the President, and must assure you that, after making all deductions for the delusions of our fancy in regard to characters, I still think of him with more veneration than for any other person.' So we think of him, I say; and indeed it is impossible to think otherwise. The modern student of history has endeavored to tell us how it was that the service in this chapel which we are striving to reproduce came about. The record is not without obscurity, but of one thing we may be sure — that to him who, of that goodly company who a hundred years ago gathered within these walls, was chief, it was no empty form, no decorous affectation. Events had been too momentous, the hand of a Heavenly Providence had been too plain, for him, and the men who were grouped about him then, to misread the one or mistake the other. The easy levity with which their children's children debate the facts of God, and Duty, and Eternal Destiny were as impossible to them as faith and reverence seem to be, or to be in danger of becoming, to many of us. And so we may be very sure that, when they gathered here, the air was hushed, and hearts as well as heads were bent in honest supplication.

"For, after all, their great experiment was then, in truth, but just beginning. The memorable days and deeds which had preceded it — the struggle for independence, the delicate and, in many respects, more difficult struggle for union, the harmonizing of the various and often apparently conflicting interests of rival and remote States and sections, the formulating and adopting of the National Constitution — all these were after all but introductory and preparatory to the great experiment itself. It has been suggested that we may wisely see in the event which we celebrate to-day an illustration of those great principles upon which all governments rest, of the continuity of the Chief Magistracy, of the corporate life of the nation as embodied in its Executive, of the transmission, by due succession, of authority, and the like; of all of which, doubtless, in the history of the

last 100 years we have an interesting and on the whole inspiring example.

"But it is a somewhat significant fact that it is not along lines such as these that that enthusiasm which has flamed out during these recent days and weeks, as this anniversary has approached, has seemed to move. The one thing that has, I imagine, amazed a good many cynical and pessimistic people among us is the way in which the ardor of a great people's love and homage and gratitude has kindled, not before the image of a mechanism, but of a man. It has been felt with an unerring intuition which has, once and again and again in human history, been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the doctrinaires, the theorists, the system-makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle towards organic life, not merely that by the initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that Constitution of which Mr. Gladstone has declared 'as far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man'; but that it celebrates the beginning of an Administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious pharisaism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world forever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be.

"I yield to no man in my veneration for the men who framed the compact under which these States are bound together. No one can easily exaggerate their services or the value of that which they wrought out. But, after all, we may not forget to-day, that the thing which they made was a dead and not a living thing. It had no power to interpret itself, to apply itself, to execute itself. Splendid as it was in its complex and forecasting mechanism, in-

stinct as it was, in one sense, with a noble wisdom, with a large-visioned statesmanship, with a matchless adaptability to untried emergencies, it was, nevertheless, no different in another aspect from one of those splendid specimens of naval architecture which throng our wharves to-day, and which, with every best contrivance of human art and skill, with capacities of progress which newly amaze us every day, are but as impotent, dead matter, save as the brain and hand of man shall summon and command them. 'The ship of state,' we say. Yes; but it is the cool and competent mastery at the helm of that, as of every other ship, which shall, under God, determine the glory or the ignominy of the voyage.

"Never was there a truth which more surely needed to be spoken! A generation which vaunts its descent from the founders of the Republic seems largely to be in danger of forgetting their preëminent distinction. They were few in numbers, they were poor in worldly possessions — the sum of the fortune of the richest among them would afford a fine theme for the scorn of the plutocrat of to-day; but they had an invincible confidence in the truth of those principles in which the foundations of the Republic had been laid, and they had an unselfish purpose to maintain them. The conception of the National Government as a huge machine, existing mainly for the purpose of rewarding partisan service — this was a conception so alien to the character and conduct of Washington and his associates that it seems grotesque even to speak of it. It would be interesting to imagine the first President of the United States confronted with some one who had ventured to approach him upon the basis of what are now commonly known as 'practical politics.' But the conception is impossible. The loathing, the outraged majesty with which he would have bidden such a creature to be gone is foreshadowed by the gentle dignity with which, just before his inauguration, replying to one who had the strongest claims upon his friendship, and who had applied to him during the progress of the 'Presidential

Campaign,' as we should say, for the promise of an appointment to office, he wrote: 'In touching upon the more delicate part of your letter, the communication of which fills me with real concern, I will deal with you with all that frankness which is due to friendship, and which I wish should be a characteristic feature of my conduct through life. . . . Should it be my fate to administer the Government, I will go to the Chair under no preëngagement of any kind or nature whatever. And when in it, I will, to the best of my judgment, discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good which ought never to suffer connections of blood or friendship to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature.'

"On this high level moved the first President of the Republic. To it must we who are the heirs of her sacred interests be not unwilling to ascend, if we are to guard our glorious heritage!

"And this all the more because the perils which confront us are so much graver and more portentous than those which then impended. There is (if we are not afraid of the wholesome medicine that there is in consenting to see it) an element of infinite sadness in the effort which we are making to-day. Ransacking the annals of our fathers as we have been doing for the last few months, a busy and well-meaning assiduity would fain reproduce the scene, the scenery, the situation, of an hundred years ago! Vain and impotent endeavor! It is as though out of the lineaments of living men we would fain produce another Washington. We may disinter the vanished draperies, we may revive the stately minuet, we may rehabilitate the old scenes, but the march of a century cannot be halted or reversed, and the enormous change in the situation can neither be disguised nor ignored. Then we were, though not all of us sprung from one nationality, practically one people. Now, that steadily deteriorating process, against whose dangers a great thinker of our own generation warned his countrymen just fifty years ago, goes on, on every hand,

apace. 'The constant importation,' wrote the author of 'The Weal of Nations'[1] 'as now, in this country, of the lowest orders of people from abroad to dilute the quality of our natural manhood, is a sad and beggarly prostitution of the noblest gift ever conferred on a people. Who shall respect a people who do not respect their own blood? And how shall a national spirit, or any determinate and proportionate character, arise out of so many low-bred associations and coarse-grained temperaments, imported from every clime? It was indeed in keeping that Pan, who was the son of everybody, was the ugliest of the gods.'

"And again: Another enormous difference between this day and that of which it is the anniversary, is seen in the enormous difference in the nature and influence of the forces that determine our national and political destiny. Then, ideas ruled the hour. To-day, there are indeed ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking bigness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness — all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that 30th of April in the year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity which in due time came to be only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange for it? In the elder States and dynasties they had the trappings of royalty and the pomp and splendor of the king's person to fill men's hearts with loyalty. Well,

[1] Horace Bushnell.

we have dispensed with the old titular dignities. Let us take care that we do not part with that tremendous force for which they stood! If there be not titular royalty, all the more need is there for personal royalty. If there is to be no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable is it that there should be nobility of ascent — a character in them that bear rule, so fine and high and pure, that as men come within the circle of its influence, they involuntarily pay homage to that which is the one preëminent distinction, the Royalty of Virtue!

"And that it was, men and brethren, which, as we turn to-day and look at him who, as on this morning just an hundred years ago, became the servant of the Republic in becoming the Chief Ruler of its people, we must needs own, conferred upon him his divine right to rule. All the more, therefore, because the circumstances of his era were so little like our own, we need to recall his image and, if we may, not only to commemorate, but to reproduce his virtues. The traits which in him shone preëminent as our own Irving has described them, 'Firmness, sagacity, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, and most of all truth that disdained all artifices' — these are characteristics in her leaders of which the nation was never in more dire need than now.

"And so we come and kneel at this ancient and hallowed shrine where once he knelt, and ask that God would graciously vouchsafe them. Here in this holy house we find the witness of that one invisible force which, because it alone can rule the conscience, is destined, one day, to rule the world. Out from airs dense and foul with the coarse passions and coarser rivalries of self-seeking men, we turn aside as from the crowd and glare of some vulgar highway, swarming with pushing and ill-bred throngs, and tawdry and clamorous with bedizened booths and noisy speech, into some cool and shaded wood where, straight to heaven, some majestic oak lifts its tall form, its roots embedded deep among the unchanging rocks, its upper branches sweeping

the upper airs, and holding high commune with the stars; and, as we think of him for whom we here thank God, we say, 'Such an one, in native majesty he was a ruler, wise and strong and fearless, in the sight of God and men, because by the ennobling grace of God he had learned, first of all, to conquer every mean and selfish and self-seeking aim, and so to rule himself!' For

> "'— What are numbers knit
> By force or custom? Man who man would be
> Must rule the empire of himself — in it
> Must be supreme, establishing his throne
> On vanquished will, quelling the anarchy
> Of hopes and fears, being himself alone.'

"Such was the hero, leader, ruler, patriot, whom we gratefully remember on this day. We may not reproduce his age, his young environment, nor him. But none the less may we rejoice that once he lived and led this people, 'led them and ruled them prudently,' like him, that Kingly Ruler and Shepherd of whom the Psalmist sang, 'with all his power.' God give us the grace to prize his grand example, and, as we may in our more modest measure, to reproduce his virtues."

"It was one of the consequences of the matter of the Bishop's address," said an editorial in the *Times*, "that its form was of singular elevation, of sober eloquence, and not without the beauty of style that profound feeling and the consciousness of an extraordinary occasion inspire in a highly trained and sympathetic mind. Nor was there absent from the sermon a touch of the impressiveness that arose from the presence before the speaker of men high in station, to whom his words of lofty warning and of searching rebuke might justly be applied. This was more manifest in the sermon as uttered than in the printed report to which, unluckily, most of the public are confined for their impression of it. But it must be noted in any estimate of the address as oratory. The Bishop's personal presence, moreover, lent it charm, — his self-possession and polish,

approaching coldness, his perfect respect for and adherence to the traditional manner of his office, his musical voice, the measured and rounded movement of his sentences, brought out with peculiar force the glow and fire of his thought."

There was some difference of opinion among the newspapers as to the propriety of preaching such a sermon in the hearing of those to whom it might most immediately apply; the idea being, in some quarters, that the temptations of political life may be most profitably discussed in prayer-meetings. The Bishop himself disclaimed the interpretations put upon his words by some of the more enthusiastic writers in the "Mugwump" press, and declared that he had no intention whatever of either insulting or even admonishing the President of the United States. Naturally, however, the frank speech caused some confusion in the congregation. "When Bishop Potter read that part of his address relative to the tactics and character of the modern 'practical politician,' and contrasted the difference in the treatment of him by President Washington and the presidents of later days, there was a marked movement of surprise," says the *Times*, "among the gentlemen who sat directly in front of the pulpit. Mr. Depew glanced cautiously about at the other gentlemen in his immediate vicinity, looking, apparently, to see how they regarded the words which fell from the reverend orator's lips. President Harrison, who heretofore had permitted his eyes to wander about the church, fixed his eyes steadily on the Bishop's face, and never removed them till the address was ended. It was evident that that part of the Bishop's short talk had created a sensation of no mean proportions."

The sermon produced a remarkable response in the appreciation and gratitude of many eminent men.

Professor Norton wrote from Cambridge:

"Although I am aware that you must be overwhelmed with letters just now, I nevertheless venture to offer you my grateful acknowledgments as an American citizen for the great service you have rendered to the country in your

timely and effective rebuke of the degradation of the presidency of the United States into an agency for the brokerage of public office. Such words as yours are an inspiration and encouragement to every one who has at heart the true interests of the nation."

From Boston came the approval of Mr. Lowell:

"I did not see what you said at St. Paul's till this morning, and, as I see that you have been the mark of some narrow-minded criticism, write two or three lines to say that I am grateful to you for your manliness. You said what needed to be said; what it was the attitude of a Christian minister to say. Are they not bidden to be instructive in season and out of season?"

Edward Eggleston had his good word:

"It is an impertinence no doubt for me to felicitate you on your address at St. Paul's, seeing that I can claim to be neither a judge of orthodoxy nor a connoisseur in matters of ecclesiastical propriety. You will certainly be censured by those who think that the chief function of a clergyman is to lend decency to a wedding and solemnity to a funeral. But the one thing that will be remembered by students of history, like myself, and therefore by the people a hundred years hence when this celebration is recalled — one thing that will stand out with the greatest emphasis will be the fact that in 1889 a real Bishop filled the See of New York and like a true prophet bore solemn witness against the materialism and corruption of the time."

The publicists accounted the address a reënforcement to the cause of better government. Thus Mr. E. L. Godkin:

"I have treated myself with a reading of the whole sermon since you went away, and I must before I go to bed sit down and thank you for it. I think it is the bravest, timeliest and most effective piece of pulpit oratory which this generation has heard, and a noble use of a great occasion. If it hurts any one it will show that he is very sick and finds in you his physician. I have little doubt, too, it will loosen thousands of clerical tongues all over the country and rescue

many a grieving layman from the slough of despond. Many a great field has been saved by the ring of one manly voice at the right moment — 'the psychological moment' — when even brave men begin to think of giving up the fight."

And Mr. Herbert Welsh:

"I have just read your address delivered yesterday upon the occasion of the celebration of the Centennial of the Inauguration of Washington. I feel that I cannot allow a moment to pass before writing to thank you for speaking such words at such a time. To one who has had the best opportunity for seeing the wickedness and folly of the spoils system, and who knows, as I do, how thoroughly it is intrenched in the Federal Government, your words came as the sound of a trumpet. Much as I admire their eloquence and power I admire their courage still more. For they were spoken to some ears which are more accustomed to the importunities and sophistries of politicians than to strong, clean utterances of duty. Pardon me if this seems like an intrusion. I write under the impulse of the moment."

And Mr. Wayne MacVeagh:

"You will know without my telling you, how thoroughly I enjoyed reading your noble sermon at St. Paul's. I now doubly regret that a severe cold denied me the pleasure of hearing it.

"Fit words, fitly spoken, in due season, they are; but they were far more. They were an earnest appeal, just when such an appeal was most needed, to the enfeebled moral sense of the American people, to arouse itself from its vulgar and benumbing self-satisfaction long enough at least to see the awful descent there has been from the views Washington entertained of public duty, in public office, to the views now cynically avowed by many and practiced by many more — with the acquiescence of the people themselves.

"To me the saddest sight of all has been the attitude towards corrupt politics assumed by so many clergymen and so-called religious newspapers; and I grieve far more

over the injury they are doing to religion than politics. In the latter they have little or no influence except to furnish rogues with excuses for their corruption, but they *are* dealing awful blows at the Christian religion. If only they could be induced to be as honest and manly as the corrupt politicians they admire, and quit their hypocrisy! But this is doubtless too much to expect.

"Meanwhile such men as you will do much to counteract the evil they are doing. God bless you, as He will for your brave and timely warning."

And Mr. Carl Schurz:

"The more the newspaper discussion on your Centennial sermon spreads and the longer it continues, the more are you to be thanked for the brave and strong words with which you pointed out the contrast between the principles followed by Washington and those governing the 'practical politicians' of our days. We have celebrated the Centennial in vain if that is not understood. You and the country are to be congratulated upon the zeal with which your critics draw popular attention to it."

The United States Minister to Great Britain, Mr. Edward J. Phelps, wrote an appreciative letter.

"I congratulate you heartily on the great favor which your admirable discourse at St. Paul's has met with throughout the country, and the salutary effect it has had and seems likely to continue to have. I quite anticipated these results when I had the pleasure of reading it at Tuxedo.

"The time has certainly come for courageous speaking out on the subject. And I believe the best intelligence of the country will respond to it.

"I am, for one, anxious to see a concrete movement to draw to a head public sentiment — irrespective of party — in behalf of a better theory and method of government. You have opened the way for it, and I hope it will be pursued."

Bishop Clark wrote from Providence to say that the address reminded him of Paul rebuking Peter. The New

York *World* had already been reminded of Nathan rebuking David. "This is the crowning glory of your career," said Bishop Clark. "And, as it is said here, your discourse will be historic, and take its place as one of the incidents in American history."

"At Bar Harbor last week," wrote Dr. Eliphalet Potter, "a gaunt down-easter accosted me with, 'Be you Bishop Potter, who spoke up to them big dignitaries at the Centennial Celebration?'

"'No, I'm simply his brother.'

"'Wal, I'm glad to git even that near to him. I keep them sentiments of his close to my heart, and his printed speech too, I carry along with me every time.'"

An interesting statement in connection with the sermon appears in Parker's "Recollections of Grover Cleveland" (New York, 1909, p. 123). A sentiment of regret, he says, for Cleveland's defeat and retirement from public life, "was unconsciously promoted by a remarkable sermon preached in St. Paul's Chapel by the late Bishop of New York. It was in every way a lofty treatment of the great questions of the day, but somehow in the public mind it was associated with approval of the President who had just retired and with condemnation of his successor. As is often the case with public sentiment this was an unfair inference, but from it may be dated the feeling in the public mind, fickle as it is, that perhaps an injustice had been done to a man who after doing commanding service was still in the prime of life and capable of still higher work." The writer thus attributes to Bishop Potter's sermon that change in the tide of popular opinion which eventually made Cleveland for the second time President of the United States.

CHAPTER XVII

IDEALS AND PRINCIPLES

1889–1891

THE sermon in St. Paul's Chapel gave Bishop Potter a national reputation. He was recognized throughout the country as a man of wisdom to understand the times, and of courage to express the convictions based on that understanding. There must have come to him the subtle temptations which beset many a great mediæval bishop, to subordinate the details and even the special functions of his episcopal office, and to concern himself with affairs of state. He had the gifts and abilities which make men eminently successful in that kind of service. He had a genius for large leadership. If he had originally gone into politics, no position in the country would have been too high for his attainment. He must have understood how naturally, in the Middle Ages, cardinals became ambassadors, and archbishops prime ministers.

Toward this manner of life, however, he showed no inclination. His interests, his ambitions, his ideals were distinctively religious. His address at St. Paul's was a sermon, and so were all his speeches and his writings. Whatever he said and did was in the exercise of his duty and opportunity as a Christian minister. His business was to be the Bishop of New York. All of his aspirations were bound up in the endeavor to execute that office to the glory of God and the good of the people. He interpreted his position, indeed, as inclusive of all life. His favorite maxim was that of the poet who declared that nothing human was outside the limits of his interest and

sympathy. But his function, as he understood it, was to bring to bear on all life the influence of religion. He had a contribution to make which differed from the endeavors of political economists, of men of affairs, of social reformers and of statesmen. He was to get the Kingdom of God increasingly established among men, in the name and spirit of Jesus Christ.

This appears notably in an address which he made in January, 1890, at a Commemorative Service of Praise and Thanksgiving for the completion of five-and-twenty years of the Second Episcopate of the Diocese of Western New York. Bishop Coxe having come to this milestone in his life, Bishop Potter was asked to speak to the occasion. He spoke of "The Ideal Bishop."

He began, of course, by expressing his admiration and affection for Bishop Coxe. He praised the straightforward simplicity and unfailing energy of his episcopate. He recalled the comment made by an Oxford don upon the activity of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce. "I recollect," said the don, "when a Bishop of Oxford never drove into town without four horses and two powdered footmen. And what does Sam do? He gets upon a horse, without so much as a groom behind him, and rides off to a visitation before breakfast." But as the address proceeded it became plain that the speaker was thinking of his own ideals. It was an unconscious disclosure of his own soul.

"I name as first," he said, among the qualities of a good bishop, "the instinct, the vision and the habit of righteousness. It is the misfortune of place, whether it be great or small, and alas! as too much of church history painfully reminds us, of ecclesiastical as well as civic place, that it conspires, somehow, to blur the lines that mark and emphasize essential moral distinctions. To love power rather than purity, to seek place — to value expediency rather than absolute rectitude, this is an infirmity from which rulers have never been free, whether they have been rulers in Church or in State. . . . And therefore it is that, like

the breath of a strong west wind, there come to us from time to time, the currents of some fearless life, that has not only the courage of its opinions, but the candor of them — that in all great moral issues 'sees straight' — that in the face of lawlessness, of crafty ecclesiastical aggressions, of social decadence, lifts its voice like a trumpet, and makes men know that there is a man of God in the land who can discern between good and evil, and who will not hesitate to warn the people, 'whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.'"

The paternal quality was the second possession of his ideal bishop. The third was learning. He illustrated them both from the episcopate of Nicholas Pavillon. "This glorious man was of such a temper that when his pampered clergy, in an age of great luxury and self-indulgence, refused to visit the sick and dying, the poor went straight to the door of the palace and appealed to the Bishop himself. It was on one such occasion, as his biographer relates, that waking out of his sleep, and hearing that a dying woman had sent for a vicar who would not go to her, the Bishop rose, and on a dark and tempestuous night, over miry mountain roads, went on foot to minister to this neglected member of his flock with his own hands." And these labors of love did not hinder his labors of learning. He studied Augustine to the betterment of the theology not only of himself but of his time.

A fourth quality he called the "glow of a poetic soul."

"When Jean Valjean, criminal, fugitive and outlaw, in that matchless portraiture of Victor Hugo's, robs the Bishop who has received the fleeing wretch into his own palace, and has hidden and sheltered him, the Bishop, who, you will remember, finds him in the act of making off with the episcopal plate, says to him gently, 'Nay, my son, but you have forgotten the candlesticks: do you not remember I gave them to you also?' What is it now, beside the nobleness of the love that flashed through this speech, that so moves and touches us? Ah, it is so utterly unprosaic.

It redeems the vulgarity of the whole shameless scene by importing into it a new and higher element. This, men and brethren, is the true mission of the poet.

"'Well, we have no use for him now,' we say. 'This is a practical age, and we want practical priests, and practical preachers, and practical statesmen, and practical bishops.' Truly, we seem to be getting very much what we want, — and all the finer and rarer qualities in literature, in the pulpit, in the daily ministrations of the parish priest, in the world of art, and in the arena of statesmanship seem likely to get the 'go-by' for the essentially vulgar gift of 'making things go.'

"And yet, as one turns and looks upon the impress left upon the page of English ecclesiastical history by such an one as Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and author of those incomparable morning and evening hymns, he must needs ask himself whether the gift that has left its luminous and lasting mark on millions of grateful souls may not be worth coveting and worth honoring."

The speaker was thinking of the religious verse of Bishop Coxe, but he was revealing his own spirit. It becomes increasingly plain, as one follows the course of Bishop Potter's ministry, that he lived in the vision of ideals. At the heart of his exceedingly effective methods, of the business-like promptness and accuracy of his administration, and of his sound judgment in affairs, was a poetic spirit. "This," he said, in the same address, "is the one gift that redeems the commonplace, that widens the narrowest horizon, that transmutes the world itself." It was this which gave to his habitual speech, whether in public or in private, a certain indefinable grace and charm. It interested him in plain people, kept him sympathetic with the problems of poverty, brought him into back streets, and made him see possibilities in social experiments which other people distrusted. It kept him essentially unworldly. No man was more at home in the splendors of that social life which his rural correspondent, in the curious letter already quoted,

was so desirous to see, and no man cared less for it, or was less impressed by it. Money, except so far as he could avail himself of it in the furtherance of his great purposes, had no significance for him. With the manners of an ideal prince, his tastes were unfailingly simple, and his preferences were austere and abstemious. His Quaker ancestry appeared in his impatience of mere externals, in the directness of his moral perception, and in his gift of righteous indignation. He was both a poet and a prophet in his habit of seeing life in the light of eternity. Thus proceeded the remaining years of the first decade of his episcopate.

Early in 1890, he wrote to the Countess of Meath in praise of the work of the Ministering Children's League: "To educate children to think of others and to make sacrifices for them is to do more for their happiness and welfare than anything else can do, unless it be the religion of Jesus Christ. I am glad to think that you have not failed to find on this side of the Atlantic those who sympathize with you in the Ministering Children's League; and I am very sure that no good work among children, whatever may be the name it bears, can be otherwise than helped and quickened by the movement which you are seeking to promote. May God abundantly bless and prosper it."

In March he discussed in the *Tribune* the "Rural Reënforcement of Cities," and urged upon the rich the duty of improving and uplifting that country life out of which year by year youth were coming to the great centres of population. "You cannot have a college," he said, "or even a high school, in every village or at every cross-road; but it would not be impossible to multiply centres of illumination such as were typified by the district-school libraries of forty or fifty years ago. It is just here that such an institution as Mudie's circulating library, which sends books in parcels all over England, and collects them weekly or monthly, has considerable suggestive value. The smaller centres, country towns and railway stations, from which the ordinary commodities of life are distributed, might

well be centres of distribution for food and furniture of a higher order. And then, in connection with some lyceum erected by the munificence of some native of the neighborhood who has made his fortune in some metropolis, we might wisely revive the lecture course of thirty or forty years ago."

This suggestion he extended to the endowment of religion in the country. "It is certainly not amiss that ministers should be partially dependent upon their people. It is not desirable that any one who is set as a preacher and teacher of righteousness should be absolutely so. There is a painful page of our American religious history, just here, which at this moment I do not care to turn. 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn'; but too often there is no remonstrance when insolent wealth, sitting in the vestry or in the session or in the pews, threatens to 'stop the supplies,' and so effectually muzzle the mouth of the anointed witness for God and duty and righteous dealing. We should have a higher type of manhood, of rectitude, of purity, of political and personal honesty in Wall Street and in Albany, if we could have a higher type of truth-speaking and God-fearing manhood for the pulpits of the land. Here is a chance for wealth. Let it endow some rural pulpits, and then leave the trust in wise and faithful hands that will see that it is wisely administered. Imagine such an endowment committed to the wisdom and integrity that to-day administer so many American colleges. It might even be entrusted occasionally to a bishop!"

In June, 1890, at Harvard University, he delivered the Phi Beta Kappa oration on "The Scholar and the State." He quoted from Plato's "Republic" the comment of Adeimantus on the citizen who finds himself in surroundings uncongenial and unworthy, and who under these conditions maintains the integrity of his soul. "He is like one who retires under the shelter of a wall in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along; and when he

sees the rest of mankind full of wickedness, he is content if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil or unrighteousness, and depart in peace with bright hopes. He who does this," says Adeimantus, "will have done a great work before he departs." "Yes," answers Socrates, "but *not the greatest*, unless he find a state suitable to him; for in a state suitable to him he will have a larger growth, and be the saviour of his country as well as of himself."

The Bishop urged the scholars to whom he spoke to undertake this greatest service. One of the needs of the nation, he said, is the constant exaltation of high ideals of domestic and commercial and industrial and political righteousness. Another need is the lifting up of all the people, by patient processes of education, to the standards of those to whom these high ideals are precious. "The community of the Phi Beta Kappa," he said, "is supposed to represent the flower of our American Colleges. For now more than a century it has enrolled among its associates those whose gifts and attainments have earned for them, during their college life, the highest recognition. Surely such distinction ought to illustrate itself in unselfish service for the state. From this, no preoccupation with other cares can wholly excuse any one of us; and it is impossible not to own that in such a trained force, if once it should arouse itself to its opportunity, the highest interests of the nation might rightly look to find their best defenders. It is not criticism, mainly or largely, that we want, nor is it organization. Of the latter, with its easy loss of the sense of personal responsibility, it is doubtful whether we have not too much already. It is individual service, personal influence, the sense of solitary responsibility, the outspoken word, the courageous stand, the helpful suggestion or warning, whenever these may dispel ignorance, or strengthen resistance to evil, or stimulate to honest endeavor."

He made the subject of this address the title of a collection of speeches and essays. ("The Scholar and the State," 1897.) The matter was much in his thoughts.

His official journal makes frequent mention of sermons at colleges. He was in the position of seeing at the same time the operations of the war against ignorance and vice, and the regiments of reserves mustering at the schools of higher learning, and waiting to be mobilized. He perceived with strong disapproval the disinclination of many of these young men to fight. He saw that in the war against the devil many of them took a safe position of selfish neutrality; some were on the devil's side. He felt it a part of his mission to inspire in these youths his own social and religious enthusiasm. He tried to enlist the scholar in the ranks.

Thus he wrote a paper in the *Forum* on "The Scholar in American Life" (July, 1889). He protested against the utilitarianism which values ideas according to the extent to which they may be applied to the betterment of the material side of life, and used in making money. "The scholar," he said, "contributes not to the comfort and convenience but to the spiritual quality of the nation. To do this aright he must have the aid of time and silence. If he is to inform our general ignorance, and solve our hard problems, he must be able to give his attention wholly to these great matters." The Bishop, who had suggested the endowment of the country preacher, urged now the endowment of the scholar. "No one," he said, "can imagine a nobler opportunity than comes to him who has it in his power to go to some such seeker after truth, and take him by the hand, and say: 'Here is leisure; here is retirement; here are books and implements. Be at ease here in this scholar's home, and wait for the coming of the light. I do not bid you hurry your tasks or force your powers. And when at length you have a word to speak to your age, come forth, and in the name of God and His truth, be not afraid to speak it.'"

His oration at the Centennial Celebration of Union College (June 27, 1895) was on "Scholarship and Service." He questioned whether the colleges, with all their advance

in pedagogical discipline, have even yet succeeded in teaching men to think. With that felicity of quotation which was characteristic of him, he cited a passage of Schopenhauer's essay "On Men of Learning." "When I hear of these portents of learning," said the philosopher, "and their imposing erudition, I say to myself, 'Ah, how little they must have had to think about, to be able to read so much!' And when I actually find that it is reported of the elder Pliny that he was continually reading or being read to, at table, on a journey, or in his bath, the question forces itself upon my mind whether the man was so very lacking in thought that he had to have other thoughts incessantly instilled into him, as though he were a consumptive patient taking jellies to keep himself alive." The college, said the speaker, "should be the training-school not merely of learners but of thinkers; and the men whom it graduates," he added, "should be the leaders not merely in successful enterprise and in purely technical ability, but in those sounder ideas of civic and social and moral order of which the greatest nations have yet so much to learn."

Concerned thus for truth and for service, it was the desire of Bishop Potter that the Episcopal Church should be so administered as to leave men free to follow truth wherever it even seemed to lead, and to serve their generation in ways as varied as the needs of the community and as the temperaments of those who ministered to them. Preaching at the consecration of St. Mary's Memorial Church, Wayne, Pennsylvania (*Churchman*, July 5th, 1890), he described the characteristics of that "evangelical" party to which the persons there commemorated had belonged. "It is the fashion," he said, "to speak of that school as well-nigh extinct, and to dismiss its characteristics as superannuated and eccentric peculiarities which have no vital relation to the Church's inheritance or the Church's life. There was never a more impudent or more superficial misstatement." "I am not one of those," he added, "whom it more immediately affects, and I am, neither by in-

heritance nor conviction, in very intimate sympathy with the particular institutions or organizations which have incarnated it."

The statement would have interested his teachers in the Virginia Seminary, and would have perplexed his former parishioners in Troy. It is hard to reconcile with the "distinctively evangelical" position about which in 1868 he wrote to Dr. Dyer. Both by inheritance and by early conviction he had been more closely connected with this school than with any other. It is true, however, that his favorite descriptive adjective, in the spirit of his father, was not "evangelical" but "comprehensive." That was the ideal of the church which he had held from the beginning, and from which he never departed. As the years of his ministry proceeded he came to appreciate the value of ways of thinking and of modes of worship with which he had been imperfectly acquainted. He suggested, in his sermon, that such progress is essential to the right life of the Church itself. "It is the office of a living Church," he said, "not to stand still but to go forward."

Upon this statement he enlarged. "There are dear and honored brethren to whom I speak to-day, who have doubtless listened to me thus far with something of suspicion, and possibly something more of dismay. They hate compromise with error, as they call it, and they distrust, it may be, most of all, the counsels of one who is pledged, as they imagine, by his very position, to a gospel of compromises under all possible circumstances. Believe me, dear brethren, you were never more mistaken in your lives. I detest compromises as heartily, and I venture to think I have shunned them as consistently, as any of you. But I do believe in comprehension, and in comprehension most of all of all who are moved by loyalty to Christ and love for His lost ones, whether these traits illustrate themselves in the school of Simeon or in the school of Keble."

This principle of comprehension, the Bishop applied to the current perplexities of the Church. In a Charge to

his diocese in 1891, he discussed the relation of the clergy to the Church's faith and order.

The anxieties of conservative Churchmen in the early nineties had been transferred from the perils of ritual innovation to the perils of the higher criticism. The appearance of "Lux Mundi," in 1899, had caused alarm in America as well as in England. The situation was like that which had followed, in 1860, the publication of "Essays and Reviews." The new generation seemed to have learned little from that encouraging experience. They were as ready as their predecessors to expect that the Church, undermined by heretics, would come tumbling down about their ears. They were haunted by the spectres of hypocritical priests who with one hand were pulling, like Samson, at the pillars of the temple, while with the other they were holding fast what the controversial writers used to like to call their "emoluments." The fact that Temple, whose "essay" had excited great alarm, had become Archbishop of Canterbury, did not suggest to their minds the least possibility that Gore, whose chapter on "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration" they particularly disliked, might presently become Bishop of Oxford.

It must be confessed that it was a trying time for nervous persons. Heber Newton had again so offended the orthodox that they appealed to the Bishop to put him under the penalty of silence. It seemed the only effective answer to his disconcerting lectures. In Ohio, in 1890, the Rev. Howard MacQueary had published a book entitled "Evolution of Man and Christianity." The writer began with a quotation from Professor Le Conte, who said, "There can be little doubt that we are now on the eve of the greatest change in traditional views that has taken place since the birth of Christianity. This change means not a readjustment of details only but a reconstruction of Christian theology." Mr. MacQueary believed it. "It is because I am profoundly convinced of the truth of these profound words," he said, "that I have written this book." He

maintained his moral right to say the creeds in their accustomed words with interpretations of his own. That freedom of departure from the letter of the creed which is commonly exercised concerning "the resurrection of the body," he proposed to extend to the miraculous birth and to the resurrection of Jesus. He was eventually suspended, and resigned his ministry, but only after a long discussion which tried the souls of many honest men. The suspicion of a preceding generation that there was an aggressive party of high churchmen, holding secret conference, and plotting to betray the Episcopal Church to the Pope of Rome, was exchanged for the counter suspicion that there was a militant party of broad churchmen who with the same secrecy were abandoning the faith, and were privately poisoning the minds of the faithful with the errors of the Unitarians. Bishop Gillespie of Western Michigan was certain of it. "There is a party in the Church," he said, "holding the articles of the faith in a sense which the wording of the Creed does not allow; men who have disposed of conscience in regard to ordination vows; clergymen who teach Unitarianism."

Not the faith only but the order of the Church seemed to be in danger. There had been a time, in Bishop Hobart's vigorous days, when the Episcopal parsons in little New York towns were sometimes called by the irreverent, "Old Apostolic Succession," because they preached on that subject almost every Sunday; but now there was not only an ominous avoidance of the theme in the pulpit, but clergymen of eminence were suspected of speaking disrespectfully of it in private. Edwin Hatch's Bampton Lectures of 1881, on "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," had been followed by his Hibbert Lectures of 1888, on "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages on the Christian Church." These discourses divested the episcopate of all supernatural elements, and found its origin in a prudent adaptation of local customs. In 1891, a numerously signed remonstrance of New York clergy protested to the Bishop



Henry Codman Potter

1866–1865

against the spreading practice of inviting into Episcopal pulpits persons not episcopally ordained, thereby causing scandal and giving pain to many. Several clergymen had given much offence by taking part in the installation of the Rev. Lyman Abbott as pastor of the Plymouth Church, in Brooklyn.

Under these conditions Bishop Potter, in his Charge, addressed the clergy of his Diocese.

He distinguished between the clergy and the laity in the matter of requirements of belief. For the laity the Apostles' Creed suffices. Such a person being asked as a test of fitness for baptism, "Do you accept unreservedly and literally, as scientifically true, the Biblical account of the six days of creation?" or "Do you not reject the doctrine of a tactual succession in the ministry as a vain superstition?" may properly decline to answer questions which in his case are "a bold impertinence." But the clerical position is different. The deacon signs a declaration of his belief in the canonical Scriptures as the "word of God." The priest solemnly promises to "minister the doctrine and sacraments and discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded and as this Church hath received the same." Newman, indeed, in Tract XC, attempted to show how the formulas of the Church could be so interpreted as to admit most of the doctrines which they were intended to reject; and a like casuistry to-day would bring in Rationalism by the same subterranean passage which Newman constructed for the benefit of Romanism. Newman, however, found that the Church would not admit the liberty of interpretation which he claimed. The Church is of the same opinion touching any similar claim for any purpose similar or dissimilar.

The Bishop accordingly advised the clergyman who cannot accept the faith or conform to the order of the Church to "retire from the exercise of his sacred office, and address himself with prayer and abstinence, and most searching and candid inquiry, to an examination of the

question or questions at issue." If the result of such examination is to confirm him in his negative opinion, "then I am unable to see how, honestly, his office and he can do otherwise than part company." In this connection the Bishop made the customary remarks about "emoluments."

The Charge, thus far, gave comfort and assurance to the conservatives, and appeared to be for the grave admonition of such as Dr. Newton, with his ideas about the Bible and the Creed, and of such as Dr. Donald, with his recognition of the validity of non-episcopal orders and sacraments. But the principle of comprehension was presently perceived to take even such offenders in.

Even Mr. MacQueary must have read with some perplexity the statement that the Creeds "do not shut out a certain latitude of construction, *e.g.* as to the nature of the resurrection body, concerning which a great deal of so-called Christian and Churchly teaching has been so grossly material as to make one wonder if those who were responsible for it had ever heard of Chapter XV of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians." This was what Mr. MacQueary had contended, and for this contention had been punished. But the remainder of the paragraph reassured the orthodox: "Yet, unless those formularies may rightfully be subjected to a treatment which any candid mind, unacquainted with theological controversies, would unhesitatingly pronounce to be utterly sophistical and disingenuous, they would seem to compel from those who are pledged to hold and teach them, so long as they are willing to remain so pledged, an assent and acceptance in that sense and only in that sense in which, universally and without question, this Church hath received the same."

Then as to orders. The Bishop recited the statements which are made in the preface to the ordinal. He considered the inviting of other ministers into our pulpits as a matter both of canonical irregularity and of doubtful edification. "I can very well understand," he said, "the desire

to bring in eminent teachers of other communions, though I have never at any period of my ministry found myself seriously tempted to yield to it." He said that he was not convinced by the arguments of Dr. Hatch. At the same time he commented with some asperity upon those who had been trying to defeat the confirmation of Phillips Brooks as Bishop of Massachusetts on the ground of his views about the ministry. "The effort which we have lately seen in this Church to defeat the confirmation of an eminent presbyter elected to the episcopate, and to defeat it by methods which, in the judgment of all decent people, ought to redound to the lasting dishonor of those who employ them, was an effort ostensibly to compass that defeat on grounds of theological unsoundness, but really, so far as it had any respectable championship, because the individual concerned did not happen to hold a prevalent view of the apostolic succession. It does not seem to have occurred to such persons that a different view was long held by the venerated and saintly man who was, for the first fifty years of its history, the presiding bishop of this Church, and that William White was by no means the only presiding bishop that held such a view. It seems quite as little to have occurred to them that, if such a view be a positive disqualification for the episcopate, it would have excluded scores of men from the House of Bishops, some of whom lent to it much of the noblest lustre with which it has ever shone. It does not seem to have occurred to them, either, that what is true of the American is quite as true of the Anglican Church. Least of all does it seem to have occurred to them that this endeavor to force the view of one party or school as a finality upon the whole Church is simply so much partisan insolence. But it is high time that at least that much did occur to them! We may regret, dear brethren, as I am quite free to say I do, that any man called to a high and sacred office does not see its sanctions and trace its authority along the lines that seem so clear to us. But an intelligent recognition

of the relations of the clergy to questions of ecclesiastical order in our time demands that we must recognize the liberty, as well as the limitations, which pertain to every man among them."

"We want defenders of the Church's liberty," he said in closing, "as well as defenders of the church's orthodoxy, and we want on this point, on the part of the episcopate, a candor in leadership which honest men have, from those who are over them, a right to look for. There is a divine doctrine, but let us take care that in defining it we do not make it narrower than Christ Himself has made it. There is a divine order, but let us not seek only so inexorably to enforce it that, like those iron images of the Middle Ages, it shall crush the life out of the victim whom it embraces. The question for us who are ministers of this Church is how the two sides of its truth are to be united in that kind of churchmanship which shall stand for all the sanctities of the individual soul in the sanctity of the Church itself."

"Authority and reason," he added, "order and freedom, spirit and form, this is the true definition of the Catholic Church, and of the churchmanship which our times want — because all times want it."

The Charge reads in some parts like the *sic et non* of the schoolmen, first on this side, then on that. The broad churchmen liked it, and so did the high churchmen. It was Dr. Dix who moved that two thousand copies should be printed for distribution. This sympathetic inclusion of both sides opened the address to the criticism of partisans. The Catholic Episcopalians, claiming Bishop Potter as their champion, were confused and annoyed by expressions which seemed to ally the speaker with the dangerous doctrines of the broad churchmen. The Protestant Episcopalians, on the other side, with equal confidence claiming Bishop Potter as their spokesman, were perplexed by the strictness of his adherence to the formulas of the Church, and by his emphasis on the duty of canonical obedience.

As a matter of fact, however, as Bishop Potter saw with remarkable clearness, there are actual existing differences in the Church, partly doctrinal but still more temperamental, and behind these differences, on the one side as on the other, are everlasting truths. They are as mutually contradictory, but as individually valid, as the divine omnipotence and the freedom of the human will, or as the doctrine of the infinity and the doctrine of the personality of God. The high churchman is mainly right, though tempted to error in detail; and the low churchman and the broad churchman are mainly right, though liable to make mistakes. They are, for the most part, right in their affirmations, and wrong in their negations. To hold them together in fraternity is the achievement of the Episcopal Church. Bishop Potter held them together in the clearness of his own judgment, in the breadth of his own convictions, and in the honest hospitality of his instinctive sympathies.

Impatient people, most of whom had only one eye, complained of him that he was on both sides. He was on both sides, because he revered the truth wherever he found it, and he saw that neither side had a monopoly of it. He represented in this respect the best qualities of the Episcopal Church. The fact made him a good bishop of a great diocese. He was able to appreciate the value of an earnest ministry under all kinds of conditions. It is characteristic of his administration that while on the one hand he stopped certain lectures of Dr. Newton, and on the other hand he stopped certain services of Mr. Ritchie, at the same time he protected Dr. Newton against heresy-hunters, and assisted Mr. Ritchie to build a new church, and both men gave him the tribute of their confidence and affection.

CHAPTER XVIII

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION

1891–1895

The correspondence of Bishop Potter shows that he was both patient and peremptory. Sometimes one of these qualities was dominant, sometimes the other.

His letters reflect, in this regard, his customary dealings with his fellowmen. Nobody could be more courteous or approachable; nobody could meet his neighbors with more grace and charm of manner. Nevertheless, when he chose, — and sometimes without choosing, — he bore himself with a dignity, remote and frigid, which suggested a steep and lofty mountain crowned with snow. Under these circumstances, — due for the most part to displeasure, and expressive of indignation, — he spoke, as he wrote, with uncompromising directness. He had ready for such occasions a collection of serviceable adjectives. He liked to make himself unmistakably understood.

His facility in this matter was evident in various differences of opinion.

A misunderstanding which arose in the summer of 1891 is explained in a letter to Bishop Doane.

"Your friend, Mr. Spencer Trask, has, I understand, written to the Rev. Dr. Carey of Saratoga in somewhat severe terms with reference to his action in the matter of my proposed address before the Young Men's Christian Association. This I have learned not at all from Dr. Carey himself: but I am glad to know it, because it gives me an opportunity of communicating some facts with which

neither Mr. Trask nor yourself (to whom, I understand, Mr. Trask has spoken on the subject) may be familiar.

"Some months ago, I received an invitation from the Young Men's Christian Association of Saratoga to speak at its Anniversary. This invitation I accepted, having a somewhat indefinite recollection that I had received a similar one some years ago from Albany — had written to you as to accepting it — and had heard from you, in substance, that while you would have been glad if I were coming to speak for the Church, you had no desire to interpose any objection. Some two weeks before the Saratoga Anniversary, however, I thought it best to write directly to Dr. Carey, and received the following note:

Saratoga Springs,
July 17th, 1891.

My dear Bishop,

Your favor of the 15th inst. has just been received. I thank you for your kind consideration with reference to your proposed address before the Y. M. C. A. Allow me to say that, though I do not myself participate in their services, I should not wish you to omit it on my account.

Last winter I gave a cordial and standing invitation to the Association to come to the Church, where I would be glad to address them. As yet, it has not been accepted.

The newspaper of to-day announces that you are to be one of the speakers at the Anniversary on the evening of Sunday, the 26th inst. I shall be glad to have you preach for us on the morning of the 26th, and also at any other time while you are in town.

Believe me, my dear Bishop, as always,

Faithfully yours,
Joseph Carey.

Two days later this letter was followed by that which I give below:

Saratoga Springs,
July 19th, 1891.

My dear Bishop,

Reflecting more fully on your very gracious note and kind inquiry, which I heartily appreciate, I may say that I fear your presence at the Anniversary here in Saratoga on the evening of the 26th inst. would be misunderstood, and might weaken our hands, as the great weight of your name and office would be quoted in the future to the disadvantage of the parish.

We are peculiarly situated in Saratoga. The Church has had to struggle single-handed for what she has gained, and her position, which is one of conservation, is now well understood and respected.

I ought to say that the Rev. Mr. Holcombe expects to be with us on the evening of the 26th to present the claims of the Clergyman's R. F. S. [Retiring Fund Society]. As our service will be at the hour of the Y. M. C. A. Anniversary, which will be in the Methodist Church, our choir and congregation will be diminished somewhat in consequence.

Thanking you again for your loving confidence,

I am, as always,

Faithfully yours,

Joseph Carey.

"So soon as I received this, I wrote to Mr. Atwater, the Secretary of the Association, withdrawing my acceptance of his invitation, and advising Dr. Carey that I had done so. Some time afterwards Mr. Atwater wrote me that he had seen Dr. Carey, and that Dr. Carey had assured him that my coming to Saratoga to speak for the Young Men's Christian Association was a matter of indifference to him. I was quite sure that Mr. Atwater had either misunderstood or misrepresented Dr. Carey, and wrote him somewhat briefly (and perhaps tartly) to that effect, referring

him to Dr. Carey for the confirmation of my original statement, which I reiterated. This correspondence, Mr. Atwater, without any authority, turned over to a reporter of the New York *Sun*. I have myself no doubt as to his motive in doing so. He saw that it would put Dr. Carey in a bad light, and make him appear hostile to the Association, and he followed up this dishonorable publication of a private correspondence by communicating it to Mr. Trask, in order to embitter Mr. Trask against Dr. Carey.

"I wish to say, therefore, in the most explicit terms, that in my judgment Dr. Carey was entirely justified in his action. That action did not turn upon his attitude to the Young Men's Christian Association, but upon the question of the effect which my speaking in Saratoga on a particular evening, July 26th, would have upon a special service, with a special preacher and a special collection, appointed in his church for that evening; and he was bound, I think, to protect the interests and obligations of his own parish.

"There is no doubt, moreover, that persons connected with the Association have endeavored to obstruct Dr. Carey's work among young men, have broken up the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, and enticed away boys who were more or less connected with the parish. Under such circumstances I do not see how Dr. Carey could do otherwise than he did, and I should be glad if Mr. Trask might know the facts through you. Dr. Carey is too good a man to be misjudged, and his work has already too many difficulties to be weakened by the alienated sympathy of one who, as I am glad to know, has always been among his most generous supporters. Whatever Mr. Trask may think of the Young Men's Christian Association, I am sure he will agree with me that it is not the Church, and that when it undertakes to interfere with the Church's work, and usurp the Church's functions, it does not deserve encouragement, but correction. My friendly relations to it could not have continued on any other basis."

Ever since their days together in the Seminary, Henry Potter and Phillips Brooks had been warm friends. They called each other by their Christian names. It was Potter, as we have seen, who brought Brooks to the attention of Trinity Church, Boston. He had expressed himself, in a Convention Address, concerning his episcopal brethren who were trying to keep Brooks out of the episcopate. It was natural and fitting that Brooks should ask Potter to preach the sermon at his consecration. This Bishop Potter did in October, 1891, and published it, under the title "Mission and Commission" in a volume of collected sermons, called "Waymarks" (1892), and later (1903) in a volume of charges and consecration sermons, called "Law and Loyalty."

Immediately after the consecration Bishop Brooks wrote to Bishop Potter to thank him. "I cannot let these days pass without thanking you for Wednesday. I felt how good and kind it was of you to come, and, when you had come that you should say such words as you did say gives me great satisfaction and delight, and will always make the day shine in my memory.

"You will know how peculiarly near my heart came those last words of brotherly greeting and affection. Everybody felt their graciousness and beauty. It was mine to feel also how much of long-treasured association, and of a kindness which has never failed, was gathered into them. May God bless you for them. There could not be a brighter gate through which to enter the New Land. I shall be a better Bishop for them.

"This thing has drawn itself out so long that it is hard to believe that it is over. But the change of daily occupation reminds me constantly that I am a Bishop, and is rapidly making the new name familiar. There is no wild exhilaration about it, but a quiet content that it is all right, and an anticipation of the work as full of interest and satisfaction. I shall be coming down on you for good advice and the permission to drink out of the full river of

your long experience. This, before long, no doubt; but now, only my gratitude for all that you have done for me this week, and my assurance that you have made the change from the old life to the new as happy as it could be made."

Bishop Potter was able to show this letter in denial of the rumor that Bishop Brooks disliked the sermon. Sending the letter some years after (January 17th, 1897) to Mr. R. H. I. Goddard of Providence, he said, "There was never any warrant for the statement you quoted. Dr. Brooks's *friends* resented my sermon because it was an argument for the Historic Episcopate, in which they didn't believe, and which they expected me to disparage, if not to disavow, because they knew Dr. Brooks did not hold it very strongly, and they thought I ought to 'vindicate' Dr. Brooks's position.

"But this was great rubbish, as a little reflection should have taught them. In the first place, I didn't hold Dr. Brooks's position. In the second place, Dr. Brooks knew that I didn't, and insisted on my preaching at his Consecration after I had, *in writing*, reminded him of the fact. And, in the third place, we were consecrating him not because of his position but *in spite* of it, and because it was necessary to show that, while the Church permitted large liberty of individual opinion as to her historic position, she distinctly held and affirmed that position.

"As for Bishop Brooks himself, the whole question was largely indifferent to him, and his letter shows plainly enough, unless he was a dishonest man (which nobody, I fancy, will care to affirm), that there was no vestige of warrant for the statement that he felt aggrieved at anything I had said."

Bishop Potter celebrated New Year's Day, 1892, by holding a "service of occupation" in the chapel of the old Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum, on the site purchased for the Cathedral. This he made, for the time, his pro-cathedral. In this chapel services were regularly held thereafter until the crypt of the Cathedral was ready.

Immediately after this he went abroad, and spent two months, mainly in Rome, where he took the services of the American Church, and preached the sermons, till Easter.

Writing from that city (*Churchman*, March 5, 1892) he described his visit on St. Paul's day to the traditional site of St. Paul's martyrdom, that great church without-the-walls which bears his name. The vast basilica, he said, was almost empty. A mitred prelate, a very old man, was saying mass in the presence of a group of ecclesiastics who "surrounded him, approaching and withdrawing, fetching and carrying, saluting and retiring, dressing and undressing, censing and rinsing, covering and uncovering." "The peasants leaned upon the rail, within a few feet of his chair, and gazed idly at him and at the spectacle with a curious and good-natured indifference. People went and came, the chanted office rose and fell; and then they picked up the prelate and carried him away, and the function was concluded." Nobody seemed to remember St. Paul. The Bishop wondered what comment St. Paul would make, if his marble statue could become alive.

In May he was in Paris, where he spent an interesting day in the Latin quarter, among art students, confirming ten of them at St. Luke's Church, and meeting many others in the evening at the club-rooms provided for them by the generosity of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid.

Later in the same month, he was in Oxford, where he spoke at a meeting of the Christian Social Union on "The Work of the Church in America." Dr. Sanday, Mr. Gore and Mr. Rashdall were among the hearers. The *Oxford Review* for Monday, May 23d, 1892, punctuated its report of his speech with frequent notes of "applause." In striking contrast with the homogeneous character of English dioceses, he was understood to say that he "had to administer the sacred rite of confirmation in as many as seven languages." He told them how the plans of the New York cathedral provided for seven chapels, each devoted to the use of a different race of people.

On the 24th of May, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

Addressing the students of the General Theological Seminary on his return in June, he had still in his mind his observation of the religion of the Latin countries. "It is not," he said, "by the multiplication of formularies, the refining of definition or the austerities of discipline, that the dangers which threaten us are to be met. Certainly, in a branch of the Church which has been under the direct observation of the speaker for several months, the results attained by such a system suggest nothing of the purity and simplicity of the primitive church."

The House of Bishops was assembled in October, 1894, to fill a vacancy in the missionary jurisdiction of Olympia. The regular business of the session being disposed of, the bishops met "in council." This was a procedure which had no canonical standing, but for which there was informal precedent. During a period of at least half a century they had often met in this manner, not as a House of Bishops, but as bishops simply, for fraternal discussion.

Meeting thus in 1894, the episcopal brethren considered the state of the church. They were gravely dissatisfied with it. The relation of the clergy to the faith and order of the Church was still under debate. The orthodox suspected that beneath the conformity of liberal churchmen there was increasing unbelief. At the spring examination of candidates for holy orders two young men of the senior class of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge were set aside for further inquiry. One of their examiners was not contented with their replies to questions touching the inspiration of Scripture and the virgin birth of Jesus. A further examination, indeed, found the men qualified to be ordained, but there were those who doubted the wisdom of this decision. The difficulty seemed to confirm the vague fear of conservative churchmen that there was a concerted movement to forsake the faith. This was the situation when the Presiding Bishop, Dr. Williams

of Connecticut, asked the brethren to wait a bit after the House adjourned and see what could be done. Sitting thus "in council," the bishops appointed a committee to prepare a Pastoral Letter.

The committee consisted of Dr. Williams, who was its Chairman, Dr. Doane of Albany, Dr. Huntington of Central New York, Dr. McLaren of Chicago, Dr. Seymour of Springfield, and Dr. Potter. Bishop Williams wrote the letter.

"We have met in council," said the Pastoral, "to consider our duty in view of certain novelties of opinion and expression which have seemed to us to be subversive of the fundamental verities of Christ's religion." The ancient and true expression and opinion, the six bishops then proceeded to set forth, first as regards the Incarnation, then as regards the doctrine of inspiration. Concerning inspiration, they opened the door to all the honest critics; they found warrant in the Bible itself for the theory of progressive revelation; and, while deprecating "irreverent rashness" and "presumptuous superciliousness," they encouraged fearless study. But the Incarnation they associated with the ideas of the supernatural birth and the physical resurrection in such a way as to suggest that that essential doctrine stands or falls with these details. And, unfortunately for their excellent purpose, they introduced into the discussion the proposition that "fixedness of interpretation is of the essence of the creeds."

This proposition not only elevated the creeds to the level of the gospels, but it bound the growing church to the state of mind of the clergy of Rome and of Alexandria in the fourth century. All that we have to do about the creeds is to take notes of the sermons of Athanasius, and report them to our congregations. The dogmatic decisions of the Council of Nicæa made further thought on these matters not only unnecessary, but impertinent; for, if we think, we may find ourselves in disagreement with the interpretations given by those brethren. The Creeds, said the Pastoral,

are not only "statements of facts," but "dogmatic truths founded upon and deduced from these facts, and once for all determined upon by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the Church."

The mind of the Church, however, in the year of grace 1894, was inclined to resent this arbitrary ascription of infallibility to the brethren of the year of grace 325. There was an immediate storm of protest. Not only was the unhappy phrase subjected to frank criticism, but the Pastoral as a whole was objected to as a document uncalled for and uncanonical. The clergy are bound by canon to read to their people the letter which the House of Bishops once in three years sends forth. This, however, they do with more or less reluctance, finding some of these epistles long and uninteresting. That a number of bishops, under the informal and unrecognized conditions of a "council," may thus address the Church is quite another matter, and one to which no presbyter is bound to pay attention. And the offence is aggravated when any six bishops, no matter who they are, presume to issue over their own names a document which they call a Pastoral. It has only the value which would belong to a statement signed by six eminent presbyters. The clergy have always resented the endeavor of the bishops to give them instruction; in this case they resented not only the instruction but the manner in which it was given, and the episcopal assumption that it was needed.

Under these circumstances, Bishop Potter as one of the six signers, wrote a characteristic open letter.

"The *Tribune*," he said, addressing the editor of that newspaper, "has lately referred editorially to the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in terms which indicate that those for whom it undertakes to speak are laboring under very considerable misapprehension.

"It may be well to say that the Pastoral, of which, I am permitted to say, the presiding bishop, and not any other, was the author, was aimed at no school, nor undertook to

subject to criticism or suspicion any individual party or institution. If there be to-day a school, party, or individuals that deny the Church's doctrine of the Incarnation, I, for one, do not know them, or the teaching which could justly subject them to such an imputation. But there are a good many people who from various causes (among which the habit of mis-statement, exaggeration or innuendo, to which individuals, newspapers, and, it must be added, so-called religious or ecclesiastical journals are sometimes addicted, must be reckoned in) have come to be more or less perturbed or alarmed as to what they have been told is a distinct tendency or drift in the Church itself. For the relief and reassurance of these, widely scattered as they are and imperfectly informed, it was thought well to restate the position of the Church, as held and taught from the beginning. As your editorial points out, nothing more or other than this has been done by the Pastoral Letter, unless in an occasional phrase, which is made to bear some other meaning than that which may be rightly put upon it.

"As the *Tribune* further points out, the Pastoral Letter has undoubtedly no conciliar authority, and may be said if anybody choses to say so, to have little more value than is expressed in the more or less close consensus of opinion of some half-dozen individuals. Its value, if it has any, consists simply in its reaffirming things that the Church, in her formularies, and Holy Scriptures in their plain and obvious sense, teach and affirm. There are phrases in it which, I am quite free to say, I should have been glad to change into other and less archaic forms. But even in the case of the most obnoxious of these as criticised in your columns, such as, *e.g.*, that 'fixedness of interpretation is of the essence of the creeds,' this plainly cannot be intended to carry more than the simple statement that the Church, in the case, *e.g.*, of the virgin birth of our Lord, does not any longer regard that question as a debatable one in her pulpits and by her authorized teachers. It certainly does not mean that if at any time in the future

the whole basis of fact on which that article of the Creed rests can be shown to be false or fictitious, the Church is to go on indefinitely affirming it. But it ought to be clear enough, even to the most interrogative mind, that a divine society which claims to rest upon 'most certain facts,' cannot consent that any one who is clothed with authority to teach and bear witness to these facts shall surrender, or impugn or disparage them until the body that has commissioned him has authorized him to do so. His office and authority, first, last, and all the time, are representative, and when the time comes that he finds himself requiring a larger liberty than his official obligations concede to him, common honesty would seem to require that he should seek it outside, not inside, of a fellowship to which his vows and promises, in the matter of what he shall teach and hold, are both definite and explicit.

"There is a very large constituency that feels these things, and feels them strongly. They may be simple folk, too easily alarmed, too little informed. No matter; a true wisdom will seek to teach and reassure them; and if the letters which have come to me from Texas to the St. Lawrence, and from Dakota to the sea, — in every case but one from lay people, and asking for copies of the Pastoral to circulate — are any evidence of what was widely desired, the Pastoral Letter has not been written in vain. It has indeed affirmed the Church's doctrine, but it has no less, I may add, guarded the scholar's liberty, and, as more than one friend of a fearless, candid and unfaltering scrutiny of all that claims to be Holy Scripture has said to me, it has defined the Church's freedom no less than its faith."

It is not likely that this explanation was altogether satisfactory to the editorial mind, but it cleared up one or two points. It disclaimed for the Letter any "conciliar authority"; it took a little of the "fixedness" out of the objectionable formula; and it made the document the composition of one author, more or less supported by five assenting brethren. An amused observer discovered a prophecy of

the Pastoral of the Six Bishops in Ezekiel 9 : 2. "Behold, six men came from the way of the higher gate, which lieth toward the north, and every man a slaughter weapon in his hand; and one man among them was clothed with linen, with a writer's ink-horn by his side." The "higher gate" indicated their episcopal position; the "north," the location of most of their dioceses; the man in linen with the ink-horn was clearly the Presiding Bishop who wrote the Letter! Bishop Potter's explanation, however, declared that the six men were men of peace, and that there was not a "slaughter weapon" in the company.

Even so, the problem was not solved — the everlasting problem of right adjustment between the institution on the one side and the individual on the other, between precedent and progress, law and liberty, faith and freedom, between the priest and the prophet. The priest solves it, because he is a priest: he is for authority, and instinctively maintains that the free scholar is a heretic. The prophet solves it, because he is a prophet: he is for liberty, and is against things as they are. The priest is at home among Romanists; the prophet, among Protestants. But the Episcopal Church includes the essential truths for which each of these associations stands. It is, as Bishop Potter always maintained, a comprehensive Church. This comprehension includes contradictions, each of which is right — and wrong.

No man ever represented the Episcopal Church better than Bishop Potter, for in him this spirit of comprehension was temperamental. He was an institutionalist and an individualist at the same time, — like most reasonable people. He desired to have the church's doctrine affirmed; and he desired also to have the scholar's liberty guarded. His proposition, that the scholar who finds the doctrine defective shall keep silence until the body that has commissioned him shall authorize him to speak, is like the logic of "Alice in Wonderland." How shall that conservative body ever know enough so to authorize him, until by much

speaking he teaches it? But the truth is that the situation laughs at logic, and is actually solved not by the definitions of theologians or ecclesiastics, broad or narrow, but by the cautious progress of men who are both progressive and conservative, like Henry Potter.

Nobody complained of any ambiguous two-sidedness on Bishop Potter's part in the matter of a declaration which he made in 1895, in the course of a campaign for better government in New York.

The administration of the mayor had disappointed his original supporters. Elected by the votes of various organizations, he had shown his gratitude by distributing the city offices among them, thus filling the places with men whose chief qualification was their political activity. Therefore the Good Government Clubs took independent action. Disgusted with a "Fusion ticket," the result of a compromise made by a number of respectable citizens with the Republican "machine," they put in the field a non-partisan ticket of their own. In support of this ticket Bishop Potter wrote a letter to Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Good Government Clubs.

"In response," he said, "to your inquiry as to my attitude toward the present municipal situation, I am very glad to assure you that it is one in hearty sympathy with your own. As a member myself of a Good Government Club, and as in complete accord with that for which it stands, I am profoundly thankful that there are some of the same fellowship who have been enabled to 'see straight' in the present emergency, and have stood out against a most mortifying surrender of the reform movement. A base alliance is not justifiable, in my judgment, even for the accomplishment of a good end. It is not expedient, it is not sound political wisdom, to compromise principle, even for the sake of electing good men or keeping bad men out of office. Political sagacity and a regard for what is right alike demand that the clubs should adhere to their

fundamental principle of non-partisanship in city government.

"I can quite appreciate the temptation to surrender a position of independence, which for the moment seems only likely to invite defeat, for an equivocal alliance which promises victory, and I can no less appreciate the reluctance to appear obstinate or impractical, which has doubtless led many good men into a partnership which promises a victory over the common foe. But it seems to me that such a victory will cost the very position which it proposes to defend. I believe that a victory won by an alliance with corrupt men surrenders the very vantage ground from which we can alone hope successfully to fight them.

"We hear much of 'practical politics.' I believe that the fusion business is bad 'practical politics.' No sophistry can confuse, in the minds of the masses of the people, the fact that in order to defeat a corrupt political organization a combination has been made with men who represent precisely the same methods, to be used for the same ends.

"The plain people, who form the great body of our fellow-citizens, and who read and think a great deal more about this matter than many of us imagine, are in no confusion of mind on this subject. They understand what government by bosses, or by alliance with bosses, means; and they are waiting for men with courage and steadfastness sufficient to deliver them from it. I believe that the great mass of our citizens, who have no personal ends to serve in an election, are ready to stand by any group of men, however small, who will not consent to a base alliance even to attain a good end. Whatever the present may have in store for them, the future is theirs. Meantime, I am with them heart and soul."

The Committee of Fifty, in charge of the fusion with the professional politicians, wrote immediately in protest.

"We beg to say that you are wholly misinformed as to the facts stated or assumed in your letter to Mr. R. Fulton Cutting, which was published in this morning's news-

papers. . . . We regret that you have been absent from the city during the campaign and that you should have taken your information regarding it from a lie of Tammany without inquiry of this Committee which includes many of your close personal friends and supporters."

But the confederated clubs printed the letter in a poster which they set in public places all over the city.

The two tickets, fusion and non-partisan, went down in defeat together, and Tammany came back; but the movement thus begun and endorsed continued. Bishop Potter, after the election, wrote to Dr. Rainsford: "The policy of the Chamber of Commerce, and the shilly-shallying policy of public-spirited citizens, like ——, who first fumbled with and then went back on the proposition to have an election which disowned the dictation of, or the dickering with, bosses, shut up 30,000 voters in their houses, last election-day, and cost us the opportunity to win a great moral victory on absolutely independent lines; and it may do so again; but it will not affect the final result."

Preparations to fulfil this prophecy were at once begun. In 1896, a committee of the City Club reported in favor of establishing a city party, independent of national parties and national questions. This committee conferred with the Good Government Clubs, and the Citizens Union was established. In 1901, the Citizens Union elected Mr. Seth Low Mayor of New York.

Bishop Potter's mind in the whole matter was spoken again in a letter to the editor of the *World*.

"Just now I should say that the highest duty of the citizen in relation to municipal progress and reform is to get rid of the grotesque notion that municipal reform and progress mean anything else than clean and honest service to the city by clean and honest officials.

"The effort to connect the administration of the city with questions of national politics is as irrational as to talk of democratic beer and republican beef. The politics of the man of whom you and I buy food and clothing has no

more to do with their quality than the color of his hair or eyes; and the character of the service rendered by a mayor, a controller, or a street-sweeper depends simply and solely upon the question whether they know their business and mean to do their work honestly and faithfully. Practical politicians, as a class, do not and do not mean to do either. They are working for the machine, taking care of their friends, and enriching themselves. If men who work for their own living and believe that other men, whether in high place or low place, ought to do the same, and not use place for political jobs, have not had enough of the corruption and thieving of partisan government, I am still confident that the day is not far distant when they will end them with a strong hand."

CHAPTER XIX

A SOJOURN IN STANTON STREET

1895

MEANWHILE, the Cathedral Idea had begun to take shape. The time was approaching when it would be possible to lay the cornerstone.

The Bishop had kept the matter, publicly and privately, in the general mind, but he had not mentioned it in his Convention Addresses. In October, 1892, he broke this silence.

"During the past nine years," he said, "I have not in any single instance, I believe, referred to the matter of the Cathedral. It will be enough to say that for four of these years, during the life of my venerated predecessor, I did not feel myself at liberty, as an assistant-bishop, to initiate any original action concerning a matter in regard to which he had already addressed you. Since then, whatever has been done has been sufficiently made known to you in other ways than this, and I have delayed reference to the matter until now in order that it might be sufficiently advanced to warrant my commending it to your attention and interest with a reasonable prospect of its efficient progress. That point, I am thankful to say, has now been well-nigh reached. For the very costly, but very noble site, which has, I am told, doubled in value since we acquired it, satisfactory provision has been so far advanced that a cordial and united effort ought soon to complete it. We shall then be in a position to lay the cornerstone."

He hoped that the date might be St. John the Evangelist's Day. He spoke of the trustees' selection of two gentlemen

(Messrs. Heins and La Farge), "whose services will be given to preparing suitable designs for at least a part of the structure, so that a beginning may be made, and some such portion of the building as will suffice for the maintenance of public worship will be provided."

Accordingly, on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, December 27th, 1892, Bishop Potter laid the cornerstone of the Cathedral. A temporary wooden structure, in cruciform shape, with a canvas roof, seated the thousand persons to whom cards of admission nad been sent. Flags of the United States and of the Cathedral floated from the gables. The marshal with his silver mace led the procession, in which marched the Church Choral Society, the seminarians in their gowns, the trustees of the Cathedral with purple sashes, and the clergy with colored stoles and hoods. The service was prepared for the occasion by Dr. Huntington; verses from the Revelation of St. John the Divine were recited by Dr. Dix; the lesson was read by the Hon. Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the United States. Bishop Doane who made the address began by speaking toward the chancel. Bishop Potter interrupted him and asked him to turn toward the transepts, saying, "The greater public is there." "No," answered Bishop Doane, "not while you are on this side!"

Thus with solemnity and informality the cornerstone was set in place. "O God," they prayed, "who buildest for thy Majesty an eternal habitation out of living and elect stones; assist thy suppliant people, that as thy Church increaseth in outward strength, it may also be enlarged by spiritual increase; through Jesus Christ, our Lord."

It was to the Cathedral that the Bishop's mind immediately turned when in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of his consecration his clergy sent him a gift of money.

On Christmas Day of 1893, Bishop Potter received in Florence a cablegram which said, "Clergy send Christmas greeting; five hundred dollars to follow; please procure

remembrancer of tenth anniversary." To this he replied from London to the Rev. H. L. Myrick: "Your cablegram found me at Florence, whither I had gone to keep the feast with such of my kinsfolk as were within reach. I wish I had words to tell you how greatly it moved me.

"When, last October, some of my brethren so kindly proposed through you to mark the tenth anniversary of my consecration by presenting me with a pastoral staff, it was not easy for me to discourage their loyal and affectionate purpose, nor to write you as I did. For, however keenly I might feel that such service as I had rendered the diocese was too brief and too insignificant for such a token of recognition, it was an unwilling, as it seemed an ungracious, task to refuse a personal expression of regard which could not but be very dear to me.

"That you, and those whom you represent, have persevered in your kind purpose, giving it, moreover, a form which made it impossible for me to decline your gift, — this, I can only say, was like you and them. And yet, I have not done what your cablegram asked me to do, and I will tell you why. The request was that with the very handsome sum which you had cabled to me, I should while abroad purchase something which, as a gift from the clergy, would be a memorial of the anniversary to which your despatch referred. I could very easily have done that; and I thought at first, and naturally, of a set of books which would ultimately become the property of the diocesan library. But another use of the sum which the brethren have sent to me has occurred to me, and in this I cannot but hope that you and they will concur. When we build the choir of the cathedral I should greatly like to think that the bishop's stall in it was the gift of my brethren. I hope we shall be content with a stall for the bishop's seat, and that thereby the true conception of the office, as at any rate the primitive Church held it, as *primus inter pares*, may be exalted, rather than the bishop upon a throne. But still the Bishop's seat, whether it be stall or throne,

stands for his office, and for that pastoral authority which *ex Cathedra* goes with it; and I should like to be able to think that my brethren had found my exercise of that office so little harsh or inequitable that they were willing themselves in giving it to accept the bishop's seat as a symbol of the temper in which, on the whole, for these last ten years, it has been filled. '—— is a brute,' wrote a Rugby schoolboy, a generation ago, referring to a headmaster who afterward filled a bishop's stall, 'but he is a just brute'; and the bishop whose wise rule will long be remembered in England, is said to have prized his clergy's often quotation of the lad's extravagant but discerning phrase as the best compliment they could pay him. And he was right. For though personal limitations in other directions may prevent a bishop's being many things that his clergy might wish him to be, he can, at least, administer his office in a spirit of loving and manly fairness; and if, in striving to do so, he is so fortunate as to win the love and confidence of his clergy he has, I think, his best earthly reward.

"And so, to end this too long letter, I want, if I may, to appropriate the gift of the clergy in this way. May I ask you to ascertain if this will be entirely agreeable to them, and may I beg you, my dear Myrick, to convey to them, and to accept for yourself, the assurance of my grateful and loving regard."

The Bishop was greatly concerned about the spiritual value of the Cathedral. He desired, indeed, a noble church whose grandeur should be a symbol of the place of religion in the life of the city. He had in mind an outstanding, conspicuous structure, high and stately as the ancient shrines of England and the Continent, which no office building should overtop. Even so, he saw in his vision the vast spaces open to all people, free and hospitable, for public services and for private prayers. But especially he had in his ideal a church which should be related to the whole city as Grace Church, in his rectorship, had been related to the community. It should be a place of inspiration

out of which men and women would go to undertake and maintain great social purposes. It should be a ministering Cathedral.

Writing to Richard Watson Gilder in answer to a request to identify himself with the work of the New York Kindergarten Association, he spoke of the deep impression made upon him by a report made by one of the workers.

"On going to the Normal College," he said, "to deliver an address to the Graduates' Association, I heard on Saturday afternoon an address from a lady which was so much better than my own that I shall remember it as long as I live. To you, who have been forced to listen to a great many addresses of mine, this will be no surprise; but even with your critical standards of excellence and interest I believe it would have touched and moved your callous editorial heart as profoundly as it did mine. Such a story of the persuasive, quickening and refining efficacy of kindergarten work in the homes and lives of little children denied so much by the stern conditions of a wage-earner's life in New York, I never listened to before. As I write, the pathos and power of it all comes back to me with the spell of a new inspiration. All kindergartners cannot give to their work such exceptional gifts, but they can give themselves; and the value of this form of endeavor, as I see it, is that it affords so large an opportunity for that."

He was deeply interested in the work of the East Side House. This social settlement, of which Mr. Everett P. Wheeler was the president, had been established in 1891, in East Seventy-sixth Street, on the bank of the river. There it offered to the neighborhood a playground and a bathing basin, a kindergarten and a public library, a day nursery and a coöperative housekeeping society, and took an active interest in both the sanitary and the political progress of the neighborhood. Bishop Potter gave the East Side House his aid and counsel and unfailing interest. "That rare and admirable work," he called it.

It was accordingly his deep desire that the Cathedral should be engaged in this supreme service of social betterment. And hardly had the cornerstone been laid when an opportunity was opened.

In the spring of 1893, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew proposed to the trustees of the Cathedral that the Stanton Street Mission be taken over, and made a field for cathedral activity. The Bishop commented upon the matter in his Diocesan Address in September.

"The plan," he said, "aims at the creation of a cathedral branch of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, thus to tie together the Cathedral, as an institution and as a spiritual centre, and the most needy portions of our city-missions work. It is a most Christlike plan and purpose, and I pray God and the people of this Diocese to give us the means to carry it out. It will need some money, though relatively not much; but it will most need men and women who will go down and live, in turn, for a while, in the Mission House, and work with and among the people whom they are trying to serve. In that one feature I confess I feel a supreme interest. If I and my brethren of the clergy would go in turn, for a month or two at a time, with a few faithful laity, and live sparely and work faithfully and pray earnestly with and among our brethren who are now so far — alas, how far! — from us, I do not say that we should revolutionize New York; I do not say that we should repeat the scenes of Pentecostal days; but I do say that we should better imitate Him of whom the apostle said, as if in recognition of this supreme human distinction, 'the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me'; and I believe that we should learn how to understand and to get near to those whom we desired to serve, as we can never do in any other way. 'What a new face it would put upon this old world of ours,' says Emerson, 'if men would only consent to exchange the religion of enmity for the religion of amity.' What are these words but the dry New England evaporation of another's words, — Teacher, Saviour,

eternal King of men: 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me!' The cross as the symbol of brotherly love, the cross in the life as the expression of brotherly love — the life given for other needier lives — this is the philosophy that is to solve our social problems; and, in the final issue of them all, there is no place for any other. And so, brethren, we see our calling as a Church and as citizens alike. May God make us sufficient for it."

In the spring of 1894, the Bishop called a meeting in the See House to enlist the interest of Church people in this matter.

The Church of the Epiphany, in Stanton street, was organized in 1833, and was the first free church in the city. Dr. Lot Jones was the rector for over thirty years. After his death the parish was much depleted by changes in the population of the neighborhood, until in 1874 the few remaining members made an exchange of property with the Church of the Reformation on East Fiftieth street. The new owners were no more successful than the old, and the parish became for a time a mission of St. George's. Under this management the work was revived, the congregations and organizations increased, and a brick church was built. St. George's, however, after some years, desired to be free of this responsibility. There was a possibility that the mission might cease to exist. It was in view of this possibility that the Brotherhood of St. Andrew had sought to ally the Mission with the Cathedral; and it was in furtherance of this plan that the Bishop assembled a company of interested Church people.

"I cannot," he said, "contemplate such a contingency [as the closing of the church] without pain and dismay, for those who are being ministered to by the Stanton Street Mission are preëminently those whose bare and burdened lives need the light and cheer, and, above all, the immortal courage and hope which the Church of God, and those who are inspired by the spirit of its Master, Christ, can bring to them. For this reason, rash and unwarranted as it may

seem, I have determined to take upon myself the task of finding the means and continuing the work which the mission is now doing."

Thus it was that early in July, 1895, the Bishop took up his residence in Stanton street, at the Cathedral Mission, and there continued for a month. He arrived late one afternoon, coming in from Mead's Mount, in the Catskills, where he had consecrated a church. An observant reporter noticed that he wore an alpaca coat, and a straw hat of the last year's fashion. Opposite the mission a score of little girls were dancing to the music of a large piano-organ. That evening he addressed a meeting of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and on the next morning he entered upon the usual duties of the minister-in-charge. The Rev. F. R. Bateman, to whom that office belonged, had been sent away on a vacation, and the Bishop was taking his place.

The Tenth Ward, in the midst of which the Cathedral Mission stood, had a bad reputation. The editor of *St. Andrew's Cross* printed a story illustrative of the neighborhood. "It is said that when Dr. Stanton Coit, who grafted the university settlement idea upon our system of philanthropic work, decided to move from his comfortable uptown residence to narrow quarters in a Forsyth-street tenement, he employed a truckman to move his library. When he gave the address the man appeared to be dumbfounded. 'Why,' he managed to say, as he surveyed the polished gentleman before him, 'you're not going to live in Forsyth street?' 'Certainly,' was the reply. 'But Forsyth street is in the Tenth Ward,' urged the truckman. 'I know that,' said Dr. Coit quietly. 'But the Tenth Ward is so bad I had to move out of it myself,' persisted the man, no doubt feeling it his bounden duty to prevent one whose appearance and habits were so out of keeping with his proposed environment from making a martyr of himself."

The situation was so unusual, and the doings of the Bishop, even under commonplace conditions, were of such general interest, that the newspapers for several days gave

the matter a good deal of space. It was impossible to enter upon this undertaking quietly, as he had hoped. His first visitor was a reporter, and thereafter for some time they lay in wait for him, attending his services, taking notes of his addresses, and keeping the public minutely informed as to his manner of life. They made sketches of his study and of his bedroom. They discovered that he had his bath at seven o'clock, and that he breakfasted on a roll, a cup of coffee and two eggs, which were boiled soft. They described how he baptized children. "The two babies," said the *World* reporter, "thoroughly disapproved of the whole proceeding. Each one grew still for a moment as the Bishop took it in his arms. Each one gave his black bands a clutch and a stare. Then each burst into an ever-rising shriek of horror and rage. But the Bishop, holding each child in turn with an experienced arm in just the right place, moved steadily on with the service."

The reporters recorded the comments of the neighbors. "'But I hear he's a learned man and very great,' said Gordon, the druggist at Stanton and Essex streets, whose card bears, 'Diplomated with honorable mention.' And he went on, 'It is a great thing for us, and we are glad. I think we will remember it for years.'"

"'I see,' remarked Weinberger, the tailor, at 133 Stanton street, 'that he is fond of children. He pats them on the head as he walks along. Yes, we all know that he is here, and everybody runs to the windows as he goes by. It is like a procession with a band. I think he is a good man, and will do no harm.'

"'He makes business heavy for me,' said the patrolman on the beat. 'Everybody is talking about it, and when he is on the street the word is passed around that the Bishop is to be seen. Then the people run. No, I don't think anybody is up to date unless he can say that he saw the Bishop.'"

The reporters peered in through the door as he visited the sick on the fourth floors of rear tenements, "with the bed in one corner, and onion soup cooking on the stove in the

other corner, with two rats fighting under the bed, and the baby shrieking at the window."

The *Tribune* described the district. "It is traversed by public conveyances which few of the residents of the upper city have ever seen, and the streets are less familiar to them than many an avenue which lies on the other side of the ocean. Its signs are written in characters unknown to them. It has its circulating libraries which contain only books written with Hebrew characters to express phonetically bad German. It has six daily papers printed in Hebrew characters, and a large Russian population. In the midst of this district, where tenement houses rise high in the air, where many blocks shelter from 2000 to 2400 people each, where the gospel of cleanliness has not yet been accepted, where men and women look prematurely old, where childhood is without pleasure, where manhood is endless toil, and old age a burden, — there is the Cathedral Mission in which the Bishop makes his home."

The Bishop himself, however, found no hardship in his situation, and declined to consider his work as containing any element of martyrdom.

"Don't imagine," he wrote to the Rev. F. Ward Denys "that there is anything heroic in my going there or any especial risk. There are certain questions concerning the problem there to which I cannot get an answer *second-hand*, and I should be a very poor lot, if I were not willing to submit to the very insignificant inconvenience or discomfort involved in looking into them."

"It is a shame and an outrage on the people of Stanton street," he said, to a *Times* reporter, "to represent that I am going into the slums. While the people there may not have so much room to themselves as the people around Washington Square, they are respectable. The difference is that they are amid cramped surroundings.

"I deprecate the personal element that has been introduced into my proposed sojourn at the Cathedral Mission. I am not going to undergo martyrdom, nor am I to suffer

any great hardship. This will be nothing new in my experience. In all my pastorates I have intermingled with the people who live from day to day, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. Of such are the persons among whom I am to labor in Stanton street. There is, of course, mission work in connection with the Cathedral Mission, but it is not doing what is popularly called work among the slums. I don't believe in slumming. Whatever visits I make while I am at the Mission will be purely pastoral visits. I will not go into the houses of the people looking around me as though I were in an old curiosity shop."

The rooms which the Bishop occupied were those which were used by the Rev. Mr. Bateman, and which had been lived in before him by Mr. and Mrs. Charles James Wills. Wills had worked there as an officer of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, while the Mission was maintained by St. George's Church. He was one of the most devoted, untiring and efficient laymen not only in the history of his evangelistic society, but in the whole annals of religious work in New York. He set an example which was a new inspiration to the Brotherhood. He worked beyond his strength, and literally gave his life for the good of his poor neighbors. Bishop Potter, speaking of the Mission House as a place of residence, said, "I never heard Wills complain." But Wills never complained about anything. His friends complained, though in vain, about the burdens which he took upon himself. He said one time that there was a text in the New Testament with which he could never get his wife to agree: that was the place where St. Paul says, "Love the brotherhood." She felt that the Brotherhood was taking too much out of him. But he loved the brotherhood, and all the brothers, especially those in Stanton street.

On the first day of Bishop Potter's residence he had a call from Father Ducey, pastor of St. Leo's (Roman Catholic) Church. Such an interesting visitor could not come and go unnoticed. A *World* reporter noticed him, and that journal asked him to write a letter about his visit: which he did.

"I hoped to go quietly to the Cathedral Mission," said Father Ducey, "and leave it before the representatives of the press started in for their day's work. I did not have the good fortune to miss the sleepless and ubiquitous reporter. Three of your craft saw me, and have given to the press the news of my visit to Bishop Potter.

"I have known Bishop Potter from my youth. He was pastor of St. John's Church, Troy, when I was a seminarian. As rector of Grace Church, and as Bishop of New York, I have had most friendly relations with him. He has always been very kind to me, and I have learned to love and respect him for his good and fearless courage.

"My object in visiting the Bishop was to show him, as delicately as I could, how deeply I appreciate and approve his act in becoming the humble rector of the Mission Parish. . . . Bishop Potter is working to manifest his sympathy and devotion for the well-being of God's multitude. I join with him in heart and soul."

Father Ducey likened Bishop Potter to Cardinal Manning. "Bishop Potter has gone from place to place, from prison to almshouse, from district to district in the tenement neighborhoods. His sympathies seem to have broadened. His courage seems untrammeled. He never hesitates to say strongly what are his convictions and what is demanded of the more favored members of society. May God grant that he will become still more powerful and fearless in the interests of truth, justice and religion."

The Bishop made all the reporters understand that the Mission was vitally related to the Cathedral. "The object of the Mission, which fell into our hands about a year ago, is to impress on the people the real cathedral idea. The popular idea of a cathedral is that it is a beautiful building, devoted to worship; but we want to impress on the people that a cathedral is a very live, working institution. The canons of the new Cathedral will take their part in active mission work. This Mission is already an articulate part of the Cathedral, and the plan is ultimately to include all

city missions under the cathedral control. It is all very well to have a capitular staff of cultivated canons attached to a cathedral, but it is important that they should have what most qualifies them to talk to other men, — that is, an experience and knowledge of real life. So the canons of the new Cathedral will take their turn in working here in what may fairly be regarded as a neighborhood mission. The archdeacon has done it already, and I am simply serving my term here as one of the cathedral staff."

After this initial publicity, the month passed quietly, its days filled with pastoral visitations, conferences, meetings of societies, sermons, services and sacraments. The Bishop's mail was somewhat increased by the receipt of letters of appreciation and gratitude; some from his neighbors, written on paper which announced their trade or business; some from appreciative persons in other cities. It did not please him to have his friendly visit made so much of, and treated as if there were something abnormal about it. It seemed to him a criticism on the comfortable clergy. Meanwhile, all his habitual interests in social betterment were informed and quickened. The district was one in which, as he said, people lived in cramped quarters. The census showed that the square mile in the midst of which the Mission stood was inhabited by 350,000 people. If all the other blocks had been as densely tenanted as the one across the street from the Mission, there would have been a million. He understood, as never before, the vastness of the human need, both physical and moral.

CHAPTER XX

HUMANI NIHIL ALIENUM

1895–1898

HENRY POTTER'S plan of life followed the formula of Terence. The horizon of his interest included all things human.

He liked to belong to clubs where he met men of professions and pursuits other than his own. In the first year of his ministry in New York he joined the Century Association, of which he was a member all the rest of his life. He was for twelve years its vice-president, for eleven years its president. His election to these offices shows his popularity among the authors and artists, the lawyers and doctors, the merchants and bankers, who compose that society. He was not a frequenter of the club-house: he was too busy for that. But he was recognized by his fellow-members as a "whole-souled Centurion." They knew him well, as the years passed; and the more they knew him, the better they liked him. So it was with the Aldine Club, the Players Club, the University Club, and others.

He was made a Mason, while he was in Troy, joining Mt. Zion lodge, No. 311, in 1866. He was a member of Jerusalem Chapter, No. 8, and of Cœur de Lion Commandery, No. 23. He was a life member of Kane Lodge, No. 454, and of all the Scottish Rite bodies in New York. In 1897, in Boston, he was crowned an honorary 33d degree Mason. He served as Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge in 1895, 1896 and 1897, having the title of Right Worshipful. Kane Lodge gave him a magnificent Grand Chaplain's jewel.

"I am bound in order to own," he said, "that if originally

I had not been attracted to Masonry by its value as what may be called a universal social solvent, I might never have sought its fellowship. I was, at an early period of my life, about to travel in foreign countries, and I was assured that as a Freemason, I should be recognized and considered, when otherwise I might have been forlorn and neglected. Well, Most Excellent Grand High Priest and companions, [he was addressing a Grand Chapter] I found, by happy experience, that that assurance was true. Once, and again, when the emergency seemed to disclose no other way out of a dilemma, I have solved it by revealing myself as a Mason: and it is certainly a noteworthy fact that never anywhere did I make that disclosure without finding other Masons who recognized and responded to it." "Masonry," he said, "has a mission greater even than its most devoted adherents dream of to-day. While we look back to the dim past and see how much has been accomplished by Masonry, the future will develop a still greater Masonry, more useful to man, and still wider in its scope and in the good it does to the human race."

As the long tenure of his episcopate extended, he was called upon to take part in all sorts of public functions. He was the natural representative of the Christian clergy of New York. And this recognition was in large measure independent of his official station. It was not the bishop but the man to whom the people turned. In East Seventy-ninth street, upon a tablet on the front of one of the lodging-houses of the City and Suburban Homes Company (which is a memorial of him) is inscribed the statement that the building was erected in recognition of his "wisdom and courage and righteousness and service." It was by reason of these qualities that his words were heard with attention, and all his acts were of interest to the public. It was in tribute to his character that he was called "the first citizen of New York."

Thus on the thirtieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, it was Bishop Potter who was asked to deliver the

oration at the dedicating of the monument commemorative of the New York men who fell on that field. He spoke of the "Heroisms of the Unknown," praising the self-sacrifice of obscure men. "The work by the great unknown for the great unknown — the work that by fidelity in the ranks, courage in the trenches, patience at the picket line, vigilance at the out-post, is done by that great host that bear no splendid insignia of rank, and figure in no commander's dispatches — this work, with its incalculable and unforeseen consequences for a whole people — is not this work, which we are here to-day to commemorate, at once the noblest and most vast?"

Again on a like occasion (March, 1895) at the unveiling of the Martin memorial tablet, in commemoration of the battle of Bull Run, he spoke in a similar strain of the common soldier, dwelling upon our debt of gratitude to him. He spoke also of the advantage of defeat. "On the one side," he said, "was the ardor, the vehemence, the impassioned enthusiasm of men who honestly felt that they were repelling an invader; while on the other side was a mass of imperfectly drilled, organized, equipped troops led by commanders who were as yet strange to them, undertaking a business in which so far as actual fighting was concerned the great majority of them were wholly without experience, and many of them without personal enthusiasm. It is not wonderful that they failed: nay, notwithstanding the tragedy of their failure, we are warranted, I think, in saying that it was well that they did fail. They had to learn the lesson of respect for a brave and worthy foe."

At the presentation to the city of New York of the Washington Arch, as a permanent memorial of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President, Bishop Potter offered prayer. "Endow," he prayed, "with the spirit of wisdom the President of the United States, the Governor of this Commonwealth, and all those whom we entrust in Thy name with the authority of governance, to the end that there be peace at home, and

that we keep our place among the nations of the world; that so, from henceforth, this memorial arch, spanning the highway over which the people pass, may proclaim to all men the nation's gratitude and homage to its founder, and recall to us that heavenly sufficiency in which he wrought and builded, and to which, as Thou, O Christ, hast taught us, we forever lift our prayer.

"For his wisdom, courage, singleness of purpose, unselfishness, and rare and singular foresight, we give Thee thanks to-day. For all that he taught us by his constancy to duty, his freedom from sordid aims and motives, his steadfast and resplendent patriotism, we bless and praise Thy name. Save us from the folly that honors his memory and forgets to imitate his example; and grant to this people over whom he was, first of all, chosen to rule, grace and courage to be true to the principles which he both taught and lived."

In the same month, the Bishop was sitting as umpire in the settlement of differences between the Marble Workers' Union and the Marble Industry Employers' Association. To this task he was invited as "a third party who has no bias." He was impressed on the one side by the common sense of the working-men's committee, and on the other side by the fairness of the employers. He found that at the heart of the contention there was a misunderstanding, which he was able to clear away. It was the beginning of an extended series of such services.

In August, 1895, in residence in Stanton street, he was appealing, through the *Churchman*, for the Summer Home at Tompkins Cove, connected with the Cathedral Mission. The house, he wrote, is "filled full of children from these closely packed homes and streets." He needed a thousand dollars at once.

In September, he was requesting the Board of Education to build a new school house in Rivington street, and provide it with a proper playground, and the Board was agreeing to do as the Bishop asked.

In February, 1896, he was preaching at the dedication of Grace Chapel. "At such a time," he said, in view of the crying needs of man, "for the Church of God to sit still and be content with theories of its duty outlawed by time, and long ago demonstrated to be grotesquely inadequate to the demands of a living situation — this is to deserve the scorn of men and the curse of God. Take my word for it, men and brethren," he cried, "unless you and I and all who have any gift or stewardship of talents or means, of whatever sort, are willing to get up out of our sloth and ease and selfish dilettantism of service, and get down among the people who are battling amid their poverty and ignorance — then verily the Church in its stately splendor, its apostolic order, its venerable ritual, its decorous and dignified conventions, is revealed as simply a monstrous and insolent impertinence."

At the request of the Cathedral trustees Bishop Potter took nearly three months of the winter of 1896–1897 for the purpose of presenting the cathedral idea to the people of the diocese. He arranged for the help of neighboring bishops to take his visitations, put the details of episcopal administration into the hands of the archdeacons, and devoted himself to the work of completing the choir of the Cathedral.

"The times," he said afterward, "were not opportune for such an effort, but it was on the whole encouragingly successful, and we received about a quarter of a million of dollars. I may as well confess that I am but poorly endowed for such a task, and that I approached it with no little reluctance. Under such circumstances the kindness which I experienced at many hands is something that I can never forget."

On Easter Even, 1897, the Archdeacon of New York brought to the Bishop's house a box containing a thousand cards. On each card was written the name of a donor to the building, the amount of his gift and a wish that the Bishop might have a happy Easter. No contribution of more than one hundred dollars was accepted for this purpose.

From that sum they ran down the scale of financial possibility to one cent. Many pledges were for less than ten cents. The cards came from all sorts of people — Sunday-school children, inmates of the blind asylum and the old people's home, firemen, policemen, waitresses, butlers, working girls, clerks, students, people well-to-do and ill-to-do. The givers represented many varieties of religion, — Hebrews, Roman Catholics, Protestants of twenty denominations, Quakers. The gift was over five thousand dollars, but of more value still was the interest of all these people in the great undertaking of the Bishop.

Preaching in May, 1897, at the Bicentenary of Trinity Church, he commented characteristically on the fact that the parish was begun and the first minister called by the Colonial Assembly. "It is a fact of profound significance, I think, that the initiative in the whole matter was civic. The legislating and governing body of two hundred years ago faced a situation. There was corruption of manners. There was deterioration of morals. There was lawlessness and vice. Yes, and let there be laws to punish these things, and officers to administer and enforce the laws — did it say? Yes, but something of infinitely more consequence than that. The civic forces of those days, the men and the legislatures that represented the best mind and the deliberate will of the people, said, in effect, also, Behind the law there must be another and a higher force. Not temporal sanctions alone, but those that are supreme and eternal, must be made effectual among this people. The fact of their relation not merely to a civic tribunal of to-day, but to a divine tribunal, both here and in eternity, must be brought home to them. The motives and constraints and inspirations that not only touch the human will and the human conscience, but transform it — these must be held up to men, and in all their august authority must be the highest, the final appeal."

This he understood to be the significance of the Christian Church in its relation to the life of the people.

The Lambeth Conference met that year (1897) and the Bishop went over not only to attend the Conference but to fulfil an appointment as Select Preacher to the University of Cambridge. He preached in May in Great St. Mary's.

The Bishop came back from this journey with his arm in a sling, having been thrown from his horse in Frankfort, dislocating his shoulder. He was absent, that year, from the Diocesan Convention, being ill with a disease which was then beginning to disturb the general comfort, the grippe.

In his annual address, which was read by Dr. Nelson, he spoke of the work of the Lambeth Conference. He felt that after a third of a century of existence it ought to have some organic outcome. He was not satisfied with the sentimental value of the meeting of two hundred and fifty bishops "to spend a month in each other's company in the discussion of questions of more or less general importance to the Church." "Shall there be no closer union? Shall not this great Church strengthen itself for still greater tasks and triumphs by some action which shall structurally unify, and, so to speak, solidify her? At this point there was, in the late Lambeth Conference, a very prevalent attitude of mind which seemed to push conservatism in action almost to the verge of impotent timidity." He referred particularly to the debates on "a central consultative body" and "a tribunal of reference." These proposals were voted down in fear of making an Angelican pope. Bishop Potter did not share this fear.

"For myself," he said, "I must confess that the imaginary terrors of an impossible papacy do not so greatly dismay me as to make it impossible for me to discern, in religion as in other enterprises that are human only and not both divine and human, the value of organization." "It ought to be possible," he added, "to make national churches stronger, wiser and more effective in the exercise of autonomous functions, by making it competent for them to avail themselves of the best wisdom, learning and experience to be found anywhere in the whole fellowship."

The first Mills Hotel was opened in October, 1897, and the Bishop made an address on the occasion. "If I have understood," he said, "what Mr. Mills has said to me of his purposes and aims here, this is not in any sense an eleemosynary work. No man is coming here to receive something for nothing. We are not creating here another institution, of which we already have so many in New York, that shall educate men in the habit of indolent dependence on their fellowmen. The mental attitude which seeks to separate the works of philanthropy from great business principles is not apparent here. Mr. Mills has applied here the judgment of a mind well trained to deal with civic problems, and has attempted such a solution of some of these problems as will be of incalculable benefit to humanity." The Bishop referred to the model houses which Lord Rowton was building in London. He watched with interest the social experiments which were in progress in England, and was in hearty sympathy with the undertaking of such experiments here. Sometimes they succeeded, like the Mills hotels, sometimes they failed, like the Subway Tavern, but their promoters could always count on Bishop Potter's coöperation. He was glad to give his blessing to every honest purpose to help the poor.

He was equally concerned to help the rich. In the natural order of things, he knew a great many of the wealthiest men and women of the richest city in the country. They belonged to his church; he was responsible for them. According to his theory of life, social results are best brought about by friendship. He liked people, naturally; he was interested in human beings. It made singularly little difference to him where they lived. The country attracted him as well as the city; he went with equal pleasure to Tuxedo and to Wappinger's Falls; he had friends both in Fifth Avenue and in Stanton street. Bishop Wilberforce, after a good deal of experience, came to the conclusion that society could not be saved by dining with it. Bishop Potter was not so sure. Anyhow, whether for the salvation of

Society or not, he spent many evenings "dining out." He enjoyed it. It was often an opportunity, and enabled him to say a right word at a right time, but it was also a pleasure. It was an agreeable relaxation.

He liked even the making of speeches at the public dinners. He had a keen sense of humor, an uncommon facility in the effective turning of phrases, and a fund of anecdote which made speaking easy. His long and often intimate acquaintance with the people of most renown in the city, — with men of affairs, writers of books, persons of notable achievement, — gave his words a certain familiar and domestic quality which his hearers found very pleasant. This acquaintance was greatly extended by his habit of spending many of his vacations abroad. He seemed to have been everywhere and to know everybody.

The reporters were fortunate on several occasions in bringing away from these after-dinner speeches not only the ideas but the felicitous words in which the Bishop characteristically expressed himself. They are the best remaining records of his unfailing readiness and grace.

The Ohio Society gave a dinner (January 8, 1898) in honor of Mayor Strong, upon his retirement from office. "According to the instructions which I have received from the chairman," said Bishop Potter, "I am to make Colonel Strong's speech. There are grave difficulties in the way of a charge of that task, for the Colonel has a facility in the use of emphatic language which, were I to indulge in it, would hardly be regarded as canonical. When he began his present completed task, knowing his characteristics in that direction, I assured him privately that I would issue to him a license for what in ancient times was called the power of anathema within discreet limits. I am not sure he has always confined himself to those limits; and I am quite free to say, now that I am permitted to address him unofficially, that I am not at all sure, had I been in his place, I should have done any better.

"On one occasion in the House of Bishops, a member, a

brilliant man, known to a good many in this room, who is now deceased, had the misfortune to lose his temper, and to indulge in language which was not at all parliamentary. He apologized, and afterwards said, 'I feel constrained to say that this House should set forth a form of language to be used by a Christian man under great provocation.'"

At the same time, the official journal is filled full with the brief record of a great number of speeches and sermons in addition to his canonical engagements. He addresses the Guild of Organists, speaks in the interest of College Settlements, presides over the Council for Mediation and Concilation, preaches at Harvard, at Wellesley, at the University of Pennsylvania, at Bryn Mawr, at the College of the City of New York, at Vassar. He is active in the Phi Beta Kappa Society of New York. He takes his part at Cooper Union in a meeting in favor of international arbitration, where the hostile interest of a portion of the audience needs the quieting influence of the police. He responds to invitations from the Typothetæ, the Red Cross, the Consumers' League, the State Hospital for the Insane, the Church Congress. He addresses the Contemporary Club of St. Louis, the Liberal Club of Buffalo, the Church Workers of Pittsburgh, the Civic Club of Brooklyn, the Forty-seventh Regiment of New York Volunteers at Fort Adams.

"My dear Bishop Potter," wrote Dr. Henry M. Field, editor of the *Evangelist*, "you are the best man in the world. You always say the right word and do the right thing, but how you find the time to do it all is a mystery. Your influence goes far beyond your own Episcopal Church, large and powerful as that is, and you are equally at home among the rich and poor. I have been looking to you to solve some of the social problems that perplex us all. For my part, I am groping in the dark, but God give us light. May you live far into the next century, and help greatly to make the world purer, sweeter and happier than it now is."

And Dr. Henry van Dyke wrote, "I want to say to you, beneficent prelate, that there is not a preacher nor a church of any order in New York that does not reap a substantial benefit from the fact that you are the bishop of this diocese, and therefore we are all, in our several modes and manners, gratefully yours."

The Annual Convention Addresses of these years show the manner in which he pursued his main business, the administration of the Diocese of New York.

He was concerned (1896) to bring to the parishes of the city a better knowledge of the missions of the country. "There are very few of our great city congregations," he said, "who do not know more about the missionary work of Wyoming or Alaska than they do about that of Rockland, Putman, Sullivan or Ulster counties in our own diocese."

He desired to raise the standard of admission to the ministry, and made the canonical examinations in his diocese more thorough than before.

He commented on the reply of the Pope to the Anglicans who hoped for a Roman recognition of their orders. "A year ago," he said, "I referred, in this place, to the courteous communication addressed to those in another land who are of our spiritual lineage and ancestry, by a venerable Roman ecclesiastic, of whose kindly purpose nobody, I suppose, had any smallest doubt; and I endeavored to point out how vain and illusory, from any such standpoint as he then occupied, were the hopes and aspirations which he then expressed. Since then he has made them even more so by describing all other chief pastors than those who are his own curates as a 'lawless and disorderly crew,' and by pronouncing all other orders than those derived from the See of Peter as invalid and worthless. It is a declaration, let me say, for which all Christendom, outside his own communion, and especially our own branch of it, has reason to be profoundly thankful. I cannot readily imagine any greater misfortune to the cause of Jesus Christ, at this moment, than any other declaration; and I confess I am

moved, in view of the very considerable temptation to make some other, more ambiguous and less explicit, to respect sincerely the courage and candor that prompted it. That it is made in large ignorance of the facts, and from a somewhat narrow and provincial vision of the situation, does not wholly take away from the value of this unshrinking frankness; while one cannot but hope that its effect upon those whose fatuous and unmanly procedure had invited and provoked it may be deep and lasting. Anglican Churchmen and American Christians of the same lineage have nothing whatever to hope from the Italian prelate who makes bold to call himself the vicar of God."

Archbishop Corrigan wrote a polite note in reference to these remarks, saying that he did not quite understand their meaning.

The Bishop urged more diligent examination (1897) of the Church's methods of instruction, especially in the Sunday Schools. "A generation ago the questions concerning historic Christianity, which this Church of all others is best qualified to answer, interested only a most insignificant minority. To-day they appeal to a great multitude who are unsettled, interrogative, and often most favorably disposed. At such a time the Sunday School ought to be a foremost agency for the dissemination of a sound and sufficient knowledge concerning the Church's faith and order; and to this end no pains or sacrifice should be spared."

He felt the need of a clearly defined policy of Church extension in the city and the diocese. "The history of the growth of the Church in New York might justly be described, I suppose, as the history of a largely irresponsible voluntaryism, more or less tempered, from time to time, by extemporaneous canonical legislation. Individuals have usually gone where they wanted to go; built what they wanted to build; and sold, or abandoned, what they had built, when they wanted to do so. The Church has, indeed, restricted the indulgence of this individualism from time to

time, in some imperfect way; but only to a very limited degree." He suggested a Diocesan Board of Church Extension.

He touched upon the question of the "maintenance of Church edifices and properties in particular localities that gather no congregation and serve no spiritual use, or one so meagre as to be wholly disproportioned to a wise use of means." He held that it should be "decided by other considerations than those which are purely sentimental."

The Cathedral, he said, was progressing; the walls of the choir were rising, and by the munificence of Mrs. C. W. Wallace of Chicago, a "very rich and costly work of art, popularly known as the Tiffany Chapel, and consisting of an altar, reredos, etc. in mosaic work," was to be placed in the crypt.

He deplored (1898) the subordination of religion to the temporary concerns of life. "The situation is such as was described by an old Roman priest in New England, who said to a friend of mine, not long ago, who asked him, 'How do you govern your people?' 'Ah, sir, a few of them by fear, but most of them by flattery.' It was a suggestive and far-reaching reply, for it somewhat coarsely indicates that deferential, complaisant attitude of religion to our modern life — that somewhat invertebrate and effusive effort to adjust preaching and service and social relationships to a standpoint which is neither lofty nor spiritual, which, I think it must be owned, is to-day a type of the activities of religion whether in the pulpit, the parish, or the home."

He exalted the importance of preaching, which still remains, he said, "the mightiest institution known to man." But he doubted the value of extemporaneous preaching. "I must own," he said, "to the amazement with which, on those rare occasions when it has been my privilege to hear anybody else preach, it has been my fortune, now and then, to hear a deacon or a youthful priest get up and inflict upon a Christian congregation of devout and thoughtful

people the crude maunderings — they deserve to be called by no better name — of some utterly sophomoric mind, extemporaneously delivered and often in vulgar and ungrammatical English. I know we have come upon the era of extemporaneous preaching, and I am told often enough that 'the people like it better.' I suppose they do, for we all like what neither taxes the attention nor touches the conscience, especially if it be soon over. But I maintain that this is treating a most tremendous responsibility, and a most glorious and august opportunity, with scarcely any respect and still scantier conscience. Let me entreat my brethren, and especially my young brethren of the clergy, to *write* at least one sermon in the week, and to get ready for it, and for every sermon, on their knees, and with their Greek Testaments in their hands, and the best learning of the time within their reach. Do you want men to listen to you? Then prepare for them something which, so far as you can make it, shall be worth listening to."

He spoke with approval of the existence of different kinds of ritual in the worship of the Church. "I must acknowledge for my own part," he said, "that when I see or hear some services marked by a more elaborate and ornate usage, I sympathize with that Roman priest who, having witnessed a 'high function' in one of the churches of our own Communion in this Diocese, remarked, I am told, to a companion, 'Very fine no doubt, but for myself I prefer our own simple service.' But, nevertheless, we may not forget that elaborate and highly colored ritual has been found, as they maintain, to edify, in the case of such men as the saintly Liddon and his peers; and if so, you and I, to whom it is distasteful, may not say that it cannot serve and does not serve a high spiritual end. What we have a right to demand, I think, is that it shall not consist, in any smallest degree, in the mutilation of the Church's appointed Holy Offices; and that the men who are guilty of this shall be regarded, and treated, as the wanton law-breakers that they are."

The test of ritual, he said, is its fruit in self-sacrificing

service. "There is no slightest difficulty in applying it. The parishes in this land, in this Diocese, might without much difficulty be divided into two classes, those that are noteworthy for splendor and elaborateness of the material details of worship, and those that are distinguished by the cheerfulness and liberality with which they bear the larger burdens of the Church, in foreign lands, in western wildernesses, in the lanes and alleys, the prisons and hospitals of great cities. There are those to whom religion, whether as worship or as conduct, is a serious thing, and who do real work for Christ. There are those to whom it is a dramatic or spectacular thing, and to whom it is no more."

Bishop Potter closed the Annual Address of 1898 with a reference to the peace propositions of the Emperor of Russia. The summons of the nations to a conference on disarmament found the United States in the intoxication of a triumph over Spain. "Most opportune is it, I think, that in the ear of a nation already dizzy with the dream of what it may achieve by conquests through the force of arms, there should sound that strong, temperate and most cogently reasoned message which rings through the ukase of the Emperor of Russia. It is an unanswerable indictment of the enormous folly and essential madness of the international race for increased armaments — ships and forts and men piled up in ever-increasing proportions, until at last the utmost limit of a nation's resources in men and money has been reached, the last man has been dragged from his family, the last shekel has been borrowed from the reluctant creditors, and the empire or the republic makes its wild plunge at last, into irredeemable bankruptcy." "I hope," he added, "that this Convention will not separate without some expression of sympathy and of admiration for an act so really noble and words so greatly wise. May God bind us together in the spirit that seeks to understand one another, to be just to one another, and to love one another. The old bitternesses fade, thank God; the old

rancors are dying. Out of a larger knowledge has come a large charity. See to it, I beseech you, that out of it there come, no less, a higher note of purpose and a readier willingness for service and for sacrifice, to the glory of God, and to the upbuilding of his Kingdom on the earth."

CHAPTER XXI

THE ORDINATION OF DR. BRIGGS

1899

In the middle of January, 1898, Bishop Potter received a letter from Professor Charles Augustus Briggs.

"Canon Cheyne is to stay with me the last two days before he sails for Europe. He will be with me on Monday and Tuesday next. Could you possibly come up and dine with us Monday or Tuesday at 7 P.M., or lunch at 1 P.M., on Monday?

"I am myself very anxious to see you, and have a talk with you. I have finally decided to retire from the Presbyterian communion, and to do this as soon as possible. I would greatly prefer to unite with the Protestant Episcopal communion, especially under your jurisdiction, if I can do so without undue humiliation to myself and those whom I represent. I also wish you to inform me on some matters where I am not altogether clear in my own mind as to the obligations I might be expected to assume.

"If you could give me a private interview in connection with the above-mentioned meeting with Canon Cheyne, I would be greatly pleased. If you cannot, could you make an appointment for me on Friday of this week, or Friday or Saturday of the following week?"

Dr. Briggs had been professor of Hebrew in the Union Theological Seminary in New York, from 1874 to 1891. In the latter year he was transferred to the chair of Biblical Theology. He delivered an inaugural address on that occasion on "The Bible, the Church and the Reason." The address was made the basis of a trial for heresy by the

presbytery of New York. He was accused of grave error in asserting that the Church and the Reason are each a "fountain of divine authority which, apart from Holy Scripture, may and does savingly enlighten men"; that "errors may have existed in the original text of the Holy Scripture"; that "many of the Old Testament predictions have been reversed by history"; that "Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch"; and that "Isaiah is not the author of half the book which bears his name"; and that "the processes of redemption extend to the world to come."

The New York presbytery acquitted Dr. Briggs of the charge of heresy, but in 1893 the General Assembly, on appeal, suspended him from the exercise of his ministry. The determining consideration appeared to be not so much the views of the defendant as his manner of expressing them. He had an irritating way of claiming to know more than his judges, and the offence was greatly magnified by the fact that the claim was valid. Dr. Briggs was better acquainted with the Bible than anybody else in the Presbyterian Church. If he could have concealed his superiority, or mitigated in some way the extent and thoroughness of his knowledge, he might still have escaped. But there was illustrated in his case the wise saying that no man was ever condemned for heresy, but only for making himself disagreeable.

The suspension of Dr. Briggs made no difference in his standing in Union Seminary, nor did it lower him in the esteem of many intelligent persons in the Presbyterian Church, but it removed him, so long as it continued in force, from the Presbyterian ministry. Naturally, he looked about for a more congenial association. Temperamentally orthodox, and holding the fundamental doctrines of religion with old-fashioned austerity, he sought a communion which was at the same time conservative in theology and progressive in its hospitality to the results of honest scholarship. This he found in the Episcopal Church.

His letter to Bishop Potter was answered with a cordial welcome, and in Grace Church, on May 27th, 1898, he was ordained deacon.

His ordination to the priesthood, a year later, did not proceed so quietly. The usual canonical examinations were successfully conducted; the Standing Committee signed the usual testimonial of the candidate, and recommended him to the Bishop "for admission to the Sacred Order of Priests"; the first signature to this document was that of Dr. Morgan Dix. The time and place of the ordination were appointed. Dr. Briggs was to be ordained in St. Peter's Church, West Chester. But the Rev. F. W. Clendenin, the rector of that Church, interposed a protest.

"A few days," he said, "after receiving your letter advising me that you proposed holding the ordination of Dr. Briggs at St. Peter's, came a request from some of your clergy that I should at once read his last book. This I have done with care and deep regret. I feel as sure as I am of anything in this world that the book is fundamentally heretical from first to last.

"Its teaching, if true, would undermine not only the whole Catholic Church, Greek, Roman and Anglican, but it would destroy utterly even the faith and foundation of Protestantism. It leaves nothing of any form of Christianity, except that which 'scholarship,' whatever that may mean, may be pleased at last to admit. As for the Bible, we have no Bible except that which 'historical criticism' may be able to dig out from the 'rubbish of ecclesiastical institutions, liturgical formulas, priestly ceremonies and casuistic practices.'"

These assertions Dr. Clendenin maintained by quotations from Dr. Briggs's "General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture." For example, he found it stated there that the "tongues" of Pentecost were a form of ecstatic and incoherent speech, and that the idea that the disciples spoke different languages is "not only psychologically but physiologically impossible." Dr. Clendenin declared that

if St. Luke was mistaken in one point he might have been mistaken as to the whole Pentecostal story; in which case, he said, "the Holy Ghost did not come down, there is no Catholic Church, no sacrament has any meaning, and Dr. Briggs' ordination itself would be but an hour of wasted life."

"Why in God's name," asked Dr. Clendenin, "does such as Dr. Briggs want to come into our Communion? Why does any man want to have him come? No part of the Catholic Church in her services reads so much of Holy Scriptures as we do; and no part of the Church, I believe, hears God's word with greater reverence. Dr. Briggs does not in any fair and honest sense of the word accept the Bible as it is. He discards the authority and consensus of the Church. For what reason, therefore, on what ground, does he wish to come to us, for we accept in every fair, honest and historic sense of the word, both the Bible and the consensus of the Church."

"It grieves me, my dear Bishop," the letter ended, "to add any trouble to your already over-burdened life, but I feel there is nothing left for me but to ask you to kindly withdraw the ordination from St. Peter's Church. For some two hundred years this venerable parish has stood by the Holy Scriptures 'as this Church hath received the same,' and I have no right to involve its record.

"Lastly, Right Reverend Father in God, until he has renounced his errors, I solemnly protest against Charles Augustus Briggs, Doctor of Divinity, being ordained anywhere, by you our Bishop, to the Priesthood of the Catholic Church."

Immediately the air was filled with clamor. The war was on again between the men of the Old Learning, as they were called at the time of the Reformation, and the men of the New.

Dr. DaCosta, not discouraged by the ill-success of his presentment of Dr. Newton, made out another against Dr. Briggs. "'Public rumor' having accused the Rev. Charles

Augustus Briggs, D.D. of teaching doctrine contrary to that held by the Protestant Episcopal Church, I hereby very respectfully call upon you, in accordance with Canon 2, section ii, to order an investigation." The pigeonhole labelled "Heresy" was already pretty full, but the Bishop found room in it for this.

Then letters, pro and con, began to crowd the Bishop's mail.

An anonymous communication, having at the top of the page the cryptic inscription "Hymenæus and Philetus," advised him that if he ordained Dr. Briggs he would not only commit perjury but would also run a great risk of committing the Unpardonable Sin.

The Massachusetts Church Union, represented by Father Benson and the Rev. C. T. Whittemore, expressed "the profoundest regret that there should be any thought of ordaining Dr. Briggs to the Priesthood of the Church, in view of the fact that Dr. Briggs is not only continuing to exercise his office of Professor in a schismatical college, but has also, since his ordination to the diaconate, republished his critical views to the disparagement of Holy Scripture."

Admiral Mahan opposed the ordination on the ground of "sanctified expediency." Confessing himself ignorant of the subjects in which Dr. Briggs was an expert, he nevertheless feared that his ordination "would affirm that his conclusions, publicly proclaimed, are within the limits of the Church's teaching. Sanctified expediency, as St. Paul, for example, understood it, takes account of the world as it actually is. At times public opinion must be withstood at all hazards; at other times the avoidance of offence must dictate. It appears to me that the latter alternative applies here."

On the other hand, Dr. Huntington offered Grace Church for the ordination service. "I have just read in the morning paper the protest of the rector of St. Peter's, West Chester, against the ordination of Dr. Briggs in his Church.



Henry Codman Potter

About 1890

The point of canon law thus raised may be an embarrassing one to you, and I write for the purpose of placing Grace Church at your disposal."

And Dr. Cornelius Smith was still disposed to be sponsor for Dr. Briggs. "Having bought and consulted the book under discussion, especially referring to the pages indicated by Dr. Clendenin, and having, moreover, brought to bear upon them the general spirit of the whole work, I find myself in the same state of mind in which I said originally to Dr. Briggs that I should count it an honor and privilege to present him to you for advancement to the Priesthood."

And Dr. George William Douglas, who had been asked by the Bishop to preach the ordination sermon, proceeded with its composition, feeling honored, as he said, to have a part in such an historic occasion.

Dr. Holland of St. Louis remarked that "there is not an issue in the Briggs case that has not already been decided by the highest ecclesiastical court of England in Briggs's favor. You know that if Briggs cannot come in, Gore and Driver, and the whole 'Lux Mundi' school of ritualists, and the Bishop of Lincoln who defended its right to be, and the Church Union that refused to condemn it, all are heretics or connivers at heresy."

Bishop Potter's single statement in the midst of the discussion was made in answer to a protesting layman.

"My dear Sir — Your letter of the 5th inst. is before me and I have given the matter to which it refers my best consideration. You exaggerate, however, my powers, and are in regard to them under considerable misapprehension. In asking me to 'refuse to ordain Rev. Dr. Briggs,' to take the responsibility of acting in the case, as it demands, and to 'have the courage' of my 'convictions' you are apparently under the impression that my action in the matter is wholly within my own discretion.

"Such is not the case. A Bishop's powers are constitutional, not absolute. In the matter of ordination he can only act when certain preliminary action by others

has been had, but when this is the case and a candidate for orders stands at the threshold of the ministry the canons of ordination declare that the Bishop 'shall,' not 'may,' then proceed to take order for the ordination of the person who has met the preliminary tests in the premises.

"All these tests have been applied in the case of the person to whom your letter refers, and I have received a certificate to that effect from the Standing Committee of the diocese.

"Under these circumstances and unless some charge affecting the character or teachings of Rev. Dr. Briggs which was not covered by the foregoing testimonial had been presented to me, I should not consider myself as having discretion to disregard the plain imperative of the canon.

"But nothing of the sort has been adduced. The book, the teachings of which have lately been challenged, has been for some time before the public, and the Standing Committee of the diocese has been convened since recent and particular attention has been called to it. It was, in my judgment, competent to that body, if it had seen fit to do so, to recall a certificate originally forwarded to me on the ground that it had been signed under a misapprehension or without sufficient knowledge, but this it has not seen fit to do. I must, therefore, accept that certificate as final, and I shall do so.

"I beg, however, that you will not suppose that I am seeking to escape from my personal responsibility in the matter of the ordination of Dr. Briggs by retiring behind the action of my constitutional advisers. I have not the slightest desire to do so. The outcry against the author of 'The Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture,' is chiefly to be deplored because it betrays such a lamentable ignorance of the progress of sound learning and the judgment of the best Christian scholars. One of these, a Bishop, writes [to Dr. Briggs]:

"'You may be interested to see that the old staid Christian Knowledge Society republished my little pamphlet on the

Bible, which contains the same principles that are elaborated in your treatise.

"'I am indignant at the misrepresentations, or, we will hope, the misunderstandings, of some of your critics. They have for the first time come across the interpretation of the speaking with tongues which harmonizes that book [the Acts] with the Epistle to the Corinthians. Have they never read Dean Plumptre's article on the subject in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible?'

"In a word, the author of 'The Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture' has simply stated conclusions which the best learning and the most devout minds have accepted before him.

"I do not myself accept all of them, but that any of them denies or impugns any fundamental doctrine of the faith can only be shown by mutilations or perversions of what the author has said, which are as malignant as they are unscrupulous.

"I note the prediction with which you conclude — that Dr. Briggs' advancement to the higher ministry for which he has been recommended will precipitate departure to the Church of Rome. This would indeed be unfortunate, for the author of 'The Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture' holds letters from eminent Roman Catholic scholars of foremost rank in institutions of learning of foremost dignity, expressing warmest appreciation of his contribution to the study of the Bible and intimating their purpose to make use of it in their class rooms. Here again, it would seem that a somewhat larger knowledge would be the safest guide to wise action. I need hardly add, after what I have written, that it is my intention to proceed, at the time appointed, to Dr. Briggs' ordination."

This intention was duly fulfilled on May 14th, 1899, in the Pro-Cathedral. The little church, with comfortable room for not more than five hundred people, contained about twice that number, sitting and standing. The Bishop in reply to a reporter, before the service, smiled at

the thought of any of the protesting clergymen appearing at the church to demand a stay of the proceedings. There was a profound, and perhaps an expectant, stillness when the Bishop, in the customary formula, invited any person knowing "any impediment" for which the candidate "ought not to be received into this Holy Ministry" to "come forth in the Name of God and show what the impediment is"; but no one spoke.

So Dr. Briggs was ordained. Dr. Huntington thought that after the event there would ensue such a period of peace among the brethren as is symbolized in the Revelation by the half-hour of silence after the opening of the seventh seal. This took place; but only after some last thunderings and lightnings of the retreating storm.

The *Sun*, which was at that moment the stalwart champion of ancient orthodoxy, gravely disapproved. The *Journal* sent a telegram to every bishop, asking his opinion for the edification of the faithful. Most of the newspapers, however, applauded the Bishop. Indeed, the Syracuse *Post-Standard* went so far as to say, "Henry C. Potter is the Roosevelt of the Diocese of New York!"

Bishop Nicholson of Milwaukee suggested that it might be possible to bring Bishop Potter to trial. "He will have to answer to the council of bishops for ordaining the man."

Bishop Huntington of Central New York advised his diocesan convention that "an unshrinking attempt by any ordained minister to fix terms of contempt, ridicule, incredulity upon the matchless and singular volume which has declared itself through ages, without effectual dispute, to be the Word of God, which has been handled with awe in the highest seats of law and courts of judgment, which has been pressed with adoring gratitude to the breasts of martyrs, saints, statesmen and seers, which has saturated litanies, missals, prayer-books, altar anthems and august obsequies with its unearthly spirit and glorified them with its grandeur, could only have been offensive by its impertinence and amazing by its audacity." "Nothing," he

added, "can persuade me that any Bishop of the Church of God can be compelled to lay ordaining hands for the Christian priesthood on any man he deems unworthy of the office and its sanctities — the church continuing to pray at the ember season for all bishops that they may 'faithfully and wisely make choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church.'"

But Dr. Donald said that "nothing has taken place in the Church for a quarter of a century comparable, in significance to its future, to that which was done yesterday."

"The coyotes howled," said Dr. Holland, "and expected a howl in answer, confident that in a game of howls coyotes could beat Rocky Mountain lions. You unnerved them by your silence."

Professor Fisher wrote from New Haven, "When Brooks was elected Bishop of Massachusetts I telegraphed him that I had never thought so well before of the 'Historic Episcopate.' I am tempted to send the same message to you. Sure I am that you have done to the Episcopal Church in this country one of the greatest services that could be rendered, and one which, in the long run, will be seen to be most conducive to its growth and health. I am greatly mistaken if this calm and just exercise of authority on the side of science and reasonable liberty can fail to command respect."

Dr. Hall Harrison wrote to the *Churchman* that "the outcry and panic over the ordination of Dr. Briggs reminds one whose memory can go back thirty years of the senseless opposition to the consecration of Dr. Temple to the see of Exeter because he had contributed to the famous volume known as 'Essays and Reviews.' Even so great a man as Dr. Pusey lost his balance. It is strange at this day to recall that even such a man as he could go so far as to write such words as these: 'The scandal of recommending to a bishopric one of the writers of "Essays and Reviews" surpasses in its frightful enormity anything which has been openly done by any prime minister!' . . . This little

panic," said Dr. Harrison, "will pass away in like manner. The Bishop of New York will receive in time the thanks of churchmen of all schools for saving our American Church from what would have been a sad blot on its fair fame. Dr. Briggs has brought to our Church and the list of its clergy the name of a learned Biblical scholar and true Christian."

Dr. Briggs himself said in a letter to the Presiding Bishop, "I am assured by my pupils that I make the Bible to them more real, more powerful, more divine. I have never heard a single one of the thirteen hundred theological students I have trained in the past twenty-six years who has said that I impaired his faith in Holy Scripture. The testimony is all the other way."

There the matter ended. The attention of controversialists, journalistic and theological, was engaged by other interests. Dr. DaCosta, after a time, went into the Church of Rome, leaving behind him a memory of zealous service in the work of the White Cross Society. Dr. Clendenin returned to his faithful labors in his ancient parish. Dr. Briggs continued to the end of his useful and eminent life a professor in Union Seminary, a sound churchman, an enthusiast in the cause of church unity, and a strong tower of orthodoxy. And Bishop Potter, who supported Dr. Briggs in spite of the fact that he had silenced Dr. Newton, — as in the earlier days of his episcopate he stopped the ritual of Father Ritchie in spite of the fact that he had supported Father Huntington, — showed himself again a just administrator, above the strife of parties, intent solely upon the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER XXII

WHERE WEST IS EAST

1899–1900

THE war which was declared in April, 1898, between the United States and Spain, and which resulted in May in the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila, and ended in August, brought a new series of problems into American politics. We became possessors of colonies overseas. Not only the Philippines, by conquest and by purchase, but at the same time, by annexation, the Hawaiian Islands, became our property. There was laid upon us the new task of colonial administration.

The accompanying discussions divided our citizens into imperialists and anti-imperialists. On the one side were those who rejoiced in the extension of our national territory, and believed that we were thus increasing our importance among the nations of the earth. On the other side were those who feared the complications into which our new holdings might bring us, and who were opposed under any circumstances to our government of any people against their will. Their idea was that the Philippines belonged properly not to the Americans but to the Filipinos.

Whatever might be the final outcome of the discussion, whether to retain or to relinquish these new possessions, it was plain that they were now ours, and that they were likely to continue for some time under our rule. Accordingly the General Convention, meeting in 1898 in Washington, appointed a Joint Commission on the Increased Responsibilities of the Church. Under these new colonial conditions, what shall the Church do? The chairman of

the commission appointed the Bishop of New York as travelling commissioner, with the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, rector of the Church of the Ascension in that city, as secretary. They were to visit these island domains, and to bring back a report by which the Church might be enlightened and directed.

The choice of Bishop Potter for this errand was obviously appropriate. Nobody else in the Church had concerned himself so notably and successfully with public affairs. His address at the Washington Centennial had not been forgotten. Mr. James Bryce, British ambassador to the United States, and wise observer of the affairs of nations, had praised his book, "The Scholar and the State."

He had particularly interested himself in the discussion of the problem of the Philippines. Addressing the Diocesan Convention of 1898, he had declared that "never was the situation more critical or the need of our common work for Christ more urgent. . . . The nation has had much, during the past few months, to blind and to intoxicate it. It has won an easy victory over an effete and decrepit adversary, in which no splendors of individual heroism, nor triumphs of naval skill — and in these we may indulge a just pride — ought to blind our eyes to the fact that we have had a very easy task against a very feeble foe. And now, with unexpected fruits of victory in our hands, what, men are asking us, are we going to do with them? Nay, rather, the solemn question is, What are they going to do with us? Upon what wild course of so-called imperialism are they going to launch a people, many of whom are dizzy already with the dream of colonial gains, and who expect to repeat in distant islands some such history as our conquered enemy wrote long ago in blood and plunder in her colonies here and in South America.

"At such a time, as never before, the Church of God is called upon, in the pulpit and by every agency at her command, to speak the words of truth and soberness, and to reason of righteousness, temperance and a judgment to

come — a judgment for nations as well as individuals — till impetuosity is sobered and chastened; and until a people in peril of being wrecked upon an untried sea can be made to pause and think. The things that this community and this nation alike supremely need are not more territory, more avenues of trade, more subject races to prey upon, but a dawning consciousness of what, in individual and in national life, are a people's indispensable moral foundations — those great spiritual forces on which alone men and nations are built."

He had said the same in the *North American Review* in an article in which he declared that the true ideal of a nation is not to be big but to be great, and that national greatness is a moral quality.

Addressing the Civitas Club in Brooklyn (January 11th, 1899) he said, as the New York *World* afterwards reminded him, "By a sharp bargain that little company of men in Paris has purchased the Philippine Islands with their twelve million souls. But any man with intellect should be ashamed to affirm that because we bought the islands we have possession. It is a question if we ever get possession." And again: "When a nation forgets the sober promises it has made, it has struck the first knell of its decay. We are pledged by the most solemn obligations to sustain freedom. We ought to go back and wriggle our own necks into the English yoke, and see how we like it."

Speaking in Minneapolis, at the Church Congress (October 10, 1899), he said, "It would seem at least reasonable that the conquering or purchasing republic should inaugurate its relations to the new possessions by some conference with its dominant people. But no. Its first word is subjection, its first demand surrender, its first, second and third conditions are, We will recognize nobody, we will treat with nobody, we alone will dictate all the terms."

Being thus minded, Bishop Potter accepted the commission to visit these oppressed peoples, and late in October he embarked with Mr. Grant from San Francisco.

In November, writing from Yokahama, he reported what he had seen and done at Honolulu.

"No estimate of the present situation in Honolulu would be of value," he said, "which failed to recognize, first of all, the radical change in the situation which has taken place since, in 1820, the first Christian missionaries went out to the Sandwich Islands. The population of the six inhabited islands of that group is, now, only one third of it, native or Hawaiian, and even this proportion is rapidly diminishing. The Japanese and Chinese populations are each of them nearly as large as that of the natives, and the foreign population, altogether, including these elements and Americans and Europeans, more than twice outnumbers the natives. Plainly, there is a large foreign missionary field, but, unlike that in China, Japan, or Africa, in no sense homogeneous.

"Again, it is important that it should be recognized that, in this heterogeneous and polyglot population, the American element is distinctly the dominant element if not in every best, certainly in every potential, sense. Whatever may be true of the circumstances under which the Hawaiian Islands came under our flag, it must be owned, I think, by the dispassionate student of their history that they now belong there. When the present government was established there, it came in upon a situation which, the provisional government preceding it had demonstrated, was manageable only by the American capacity, intelligence and love of order, which called that provisional government into existence. I mention these things because they have a direct bearing upon the conclusions which the undersigned have reached in regard to our duty in the future.

"That duty might easily be evaded, by leaving the ecclesiastical situation in the Hawaiian Islands as it is. This would be certainly, — and not unnaturally, — agreeable to the present incumbent of the See of Honolulu, who has resided there for nearly thirty years, and whose means and strength have been freely given to the work of the Church.

And it may be urged that the whole sphere of influence is one of relatively insignificant consequence or importance. But both these conclusions must rest upon a very superficial knowledge of the facts.

"And, first, it is my duty to speak of the former impression, viz.: that things, in the Church in Honolulu, 'are well enough as they are.' No one can believe this who has looked at them below the surface. The Church in Honolulu, and the course of missions in the Hawaiian Islands, have been a rather painful illustration of maladjustments. I knew the first Bishop of Honolulu quite intimately; and he was my guest while I was a young rector in the present Diocese of Albany. I should not have believed it easy for the Church of England to find another man less adapted to the task of a Missionary Bishop than he; but I think that, in his successor, it has done so. For the fitness of a human instrument, in such a case, does not consist in piety alone, nor zeal, nor learning, nor unselfish devotion; all of which I rejoice to associate with the two occupants of the See of Honolulu. The task in Honolulu, from the beginning, has been a delicate and difficult one, requiring wisdom, patience, open-minded sympathy; and something wholly unlike mental insularity. And until these are brought to it, it will remain undone. It is this that makes the Hawaiian ecclesiastical problem, in one aspect of it, at any rate, distinctly a personal one.

"Again; It may be said, that whatever may be the present situation in and around Honolulu, the interests involved are relatively secondary and insignificant. Secondary, perhaps, as compared with such fields, *e.g.* as China and Japan, but surely not insignificant. The vast industrial interests already developed in the Hawaiian Islands make them of foremost importance; and the fact that it is American energy and capital that are developing them, creates a clear obligation on our part to do what we can to redeem this huge commercialism, with its hordes of contract-workingmen, from merely base and sordid uses. Still further does

such a work become of preëminent consequence when the huge Japanese and Chinese colonies in the Hawaiian Islands are taken into account. In these, our foreign missionary enterprise has surely an exceptional opportunity. They are destined to send back, from time to time, to their mother countries, a very large proportion of those that have come from them; and meantime, while in our soil, and living under our institutions, they ought to be more accessible than at home to the influences of our holy religion. In this view it is easily conceivable that the two or three greater Islands of the Hawaiian group now devoted to sugar culture, and employing large bodies of contract laborers might be made the training schools for a native ministry of priests, catechists and the like, of peculiar adaptability and consequent efficiency. But such results cannot be brought about under present conditions. For reasons to which more particularly I need not refer here, the American constituency in the Hawaiian Islands is not in sympathy with the Ordinary. He is identified, in their view, with efforts to alienate the Islands from the American allegiance, and he has never established even the remotest contact with Christian and humane enterprises in them which long antedated his own. On the other hand, the strength of the Church to-day is distinctly American, and the tendency towards it on the part of men of influence and character, heretofore identified with other communions, is no less distinct, and growing.

"Under these circumstances the duty of giving to this part of our Missionary territory some competent oversight and administration seems very clear. While in Honolulu, I conferred with Bishop Willis, the present incumbent of the See, who indicated to me the terms on which he was prepared to resign his See. It is enough to say of them that they were impracticable terms, and that I gave him no encouragement to think that they would be accepted. Later in my visit, he called upon me and submitted a written declaration to the same effect in somewhat

modified terms, and finally acquiesced in such changes in this as will, I think, when it is communicated to the Presiding Bishop, afford a basis sufficient to enable us to deal, effectively, with the situation. The first step in this will be, I hope, to vest the temporary jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Islands in the Bishop of California, who, I have reason to know, will be a *persona gratissima* to all classes of churchmen in Honolulu; and whose geographical proximity, and, still more, his eminent wisdom, patience, and singleness of purpose, especially fit him for such a task."

In December, writing from Singapore, he reported his observations and conclusions in Manila.

"On arriving at Hong Kong on Saturday, Dec. 9, the undersigned ascertained that the British steamer *Diamante* would sail on the following Wednesday, Dec. 13, for Manila, and that there was good reason to expect (an expectation that later was happily fulfilled) that they might find thence an early and convenient steamer to this port. This information decided them to visit Manila, believing, as they did, that it might be in their power to obtain information concerning the religious and ecclesiastical situation there which would be valuable to the Commission and interesting to the Church. In this they have not been disappointed.

"Arriving in Manila on Dec. 16, the week that they were enabled to spend there was devoted unreservedly to seeking every opportunity for seeing and conversing with Filipinos; the officers and men of the United States army and navy, especially our own chaplains; representatives of the press; men of business; and foreigners who have been for some years residents in the Philippines, from whom information of any sort could be obtained. In all this they have been singularly fortunate, and they desire here to make mention of the universal courtesy and large candor with which they have been welcomed and the cordial frankness of communication on all hands, and especially of the Governor-General, Major-General Otis, of whose most

valuable information and invariable consideration they desire to make grateful mention.

"The religious situation in the Philippines is such as was to be expected in a colony of Spain. She has stamped here ecclesiastical traditions, narrow, intolerant, and often corrupting, wherever she has gone, and she has gone almost everywhere, among all the various islands of the archipelago, great and small. Worst of all, her religious orders, except perhaps the Jesuits, have robbed the people, wrung from them their lands, and taxed the administration of the sacraments and ordinances of religion with a scale of exactions and impositions at once scandalous and outrageous. No marriage, *e.g.*, can be celebrated by a priest of the Roman obedience, without (*a*) a certificate from both parties of baptism; (*b*) of confirmation; (*c*) of a confession to a priest immediately preceding marriage; as well as a certificate of marriage, all of which must be severally and separately paid for, and for which the charge is in each case from $5 to $8. It is only necessary to visit the Philippine Islands to see, in the obvious and extreme poverty of the great mass of the people, their utter inability, ordinarily, to pay any such charges; which charges are fixed by the archbishop who, it is understood, divides their proceeds with the clergy who collect them. It need not, therefore, surprise any one acquainted with the facts, that thousands of the people are living practically in a state of concubinage, in which, to their honor be it said, men and women maintain, generally, conditions of marital fidelity, in and which, curiously enough, they are not refused the greater Sacrament.

"An ecclesiastical discipline which permits such wrongs not unnaturally permits others of even larger proportions. One wonders, as he hears the history of long-continued wrong and robberies by means of which the friars have dispossessed the Filipinos of their homes, seized their lands and practically driven them forth, under the pretext of exacting the Church's dues, whether those who have done these things could ever have read the burning language of

the Hebrew prophet addressed to men of their type! It is no wonder that at last an outraged people revolted, and that, having appealed in vain to their own civil government for either protection or redress, they should have risen against their oppressors. As your representatives are preparing these words they have read the summary, which has only just reached them, of the report of the American Commissioners to the Philippines, and they are thankful that at least it recognizes the relation of these great wrongs to the situation which, when the arms of the United States came to the Philippines, they found there. If we are to retain these islands, and the undersigned are constrained to own, however they may differ from any of their associates as to the wisdom of originally entering upon them, that no other course seems for the present open to the United States, these wrongs and the righting of them lie at the foundation of the whole Philippine problem. It will be a colossal blunder if any delicacy as to the policy which may affect or offend a particular vote, important to any political party, is allowed to obscure the facts, or to paralyze our action. We must do justly in the Philippines, or God will have no use for us, and our presence there will inevitably redound to our national dishonor.

"It is a relief to turn from this aspect of the religious situation in the Philippines to that other presented by the work of our own representatives there, and to the abundant tokens of their wisdom and success. As yet they are few in number, but, under the most wise and self-sacrificing leadership of the Rev. C. C. Pierce, a chaplain of the United States Army, they have laid the foundations of a work of singular foresight and comprehensiveness. Mr. Pierce might properly have confined himself to his duties as a regimental chaplain; but, from the beginning, he has been the pastor and servant of all sorts and conditions of men, organizing a congregation for the citizens of the United States temporarily resident in or near Manila; another for the Filipinos, counselling, teaching, baptizing, ministering as a physician

to their sick and dying, and giving, when otherwise it would have been impossible for them to secure, Christian burial to their dead. It is impossible to exaggerate the services of this rare man, whose heroic and untiring ministries are a crown of glory to the Church whose son he is, and who has won from his countrymen in Manila, of all ranks and callings, and from the island people, to whom most surely God has sent him, universal love and honor.

"The undersigned desire also to make mention of the good work of representatives of St. Andrew's Brotherhood, in whose rooms the first of your signers met a very interesting gathering of men and women, many of the former being soldiers in the army of the United States, in a social and informal way, where he was permitted to take each one of them by the hand, and later, briefly, to address them. There is a large place for this work, but it, and all other work in the Philippines, should be placed under the explicit authority of Chaplain Pierce, whom experience, discretion, singular administrative capacity, and kindling enthusiasm, together with the fact that he enjoys the unqualified respect and confidence of all those in authority there, preëminently fit him for quasi-Episcopal jurisdiction and responsibility.

"Both the undersigned, it may be said, in conclusion, preached, in connection with services for the Anglo-American congregations, and the first named of them administered the rite of Confirmation at a most interesting and pathetic service, where a goodly number of United States Soldiers and others received the Laying on of Hands.

"The services are at present held in a building loaned for the purpose by our Government, but Chaplain Pierce has already secured an option upon an admirable site for a Church edifice; and, having been ordered by the military authorities to take a short furlough for his health, somewhat impaired by the tremendous strain which he has been so long enduring in the Philippines, will shortly visit the United States and seek the aid of Churchmen in securing means for its erection. The undersigned invoke for

this rare man the heartiest sympathy and support of the commission; and from their countrymen, the help and encouragement of every disciple of Jesus Christ, and every friend of righteousness, justice, and a higher hope for our distant wards and brethren."

These letters were signed by Bishop Potter and by Mr. Grant.

From India they went to Egypt, and returned to New York by the way of England, having encircled the globe. The Bishop wrote a little book about his journey, and the Century Company published it (1902) under the title "The East of To-day and To-morrow." The six chapters are on "Chinese Traits and Western Blunders," "The Problem of the Philippines," "Impressions of Japan," "Impressions of India," "Impressions of the Hawaiian Islands," "India: its People and its Religion." The book resembles the Bishop's earlier volume, "The Gates of the East" in that it records his observations not so much of places as of people. Mr. Bryce said of the addresses collected in "The Scholar and the State," "The subjects are various, but there is a unity running through them all which springs from the recurrence of one strain of thought, and the discussion, in a great diversity of forms, of one question. This strain of thought and this question are concerned with the method of applying Christian principles to the problems of practical life." So with the books of travel. They reveal the mind not of a tourist, nor of a man of letters, nor of a student of history or of society, but of a Christian minister who has a profound conviction that the supreme solvent of all problems is the Christian religion.

The Bishop's change of mind regarding the proper treatment of the Filipinos scandalized the newspapers which were attacking President McKinley's administration; to the anti-imperialists, it was pain and grief.

"We must accept the inevitable," he said to a reporter of the *World* (March 17th, 1900). "The question now is 'What are you going to do now that you have got it?' We

have got the responsibility of governing the Philippines, for better or for worse. If it is for the worse, all the greater is our responsibility. . . . I went there in an attitude of hostility to the whole business, but that did not prevent the military authorities from extending every courtesy and facility that would aid me in comprehending the situation. I must say that my mind has greatly altered as to the relation of the higher civilization to the lower civilization. We have got those islands and we have got to hold on to them. It is too late now to get rid of them. The matter of their acquisition is now an academic question purely."

At the annual dinner of the New York Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, he said: "I am bound to say that I shall be constrained to disappoint a great many people who suppose that I have undergone any change in my opinions as to the essential policy of the United States in relation to that larger question which lies behind the acquisition of territory by the United States. To a persistent young woman who endeavored to have me define my attitude on the question of expansion, I said, the other night, Suppose my son were to come to me and say, 'My dear father, I am thinking of marrying a creole woman with seven children,' I am perfectly free to say that I should reply to him, 'My son, you are a fool.' But if he had actually married a creole woman with seven children, I should try to behave toward him as if I still sustained some blood relationship to him.

"Now, in all seriousness, whether we like it or not, what we have done is to establish some such relationship as that with the Filipinos; and I should count it a national mortification if to-day we should retreat from responsibilities because we find them difficult. I have not the smallest doubt that we shall blunder and try again, and blunder again. That is the history of warfare. That is the history of a great deal of the earliest story of our Civil War, analogies of which England is now having in South Africa. But

sooner or later the triumph of military genius and of persistency will vindicate a great cause in a great way.

"What the natives want is the presence of a disciplinary rule, obedience to order, a sense of authority, an intelligent command, and out of that, just as in the case of India under the government of England, I believe we shall see in the Philippine Islands, emerging from the darkness and ignorance of the past, a people with self-respecting intelligence, and with appreciation of Western ideas."

Preaching unexpectedly and extemporaneously in Grace Church — his first sermon after his return — he said that his views of foreign missions had been radically changed as a result of his travels through the empires of the East. He confessed that he had at times been influenced by the often expressed opinion that money devoted to foreign missions was so much money thrown away that might have been put to good use in furthering mission work at home. All this was driven from his mind when he saw the good work that was being done in India, China and Japan. More good, he declared, was being accomplished in proportion to the money expended in those countries of the East than by any other agency in the world.

Thus the commissioner made his report to the commission, and the commission to the General Convention which met in 1901 in San Francisco, and the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippine Islands were made Missionary Districts. Mr. Brent was immediately made bishop of the Philippines; Mr. Restarick was presently made bishop of Honolulu.

CHAPTER XXIII

TO MAYOR VAN WYCK

1900

During his residence in Stanton street Bishop Potter had opportunity to see both the good and evil of the neighborhood. He recognized the virtues of the poor. He perceived that the inhabitants of "mean streets" are not of necessity mean people. He resented the newspaper idea that in going into that district he was undertaking a mission to the slums. But he perceived at the same time that the righteousness of the poor was maintained in the face of manifold temptations. He read with a new understanding the description of the "ungodly" in the Tenth Psalm. "He sitteth lurking in the thievish corners of the streets, and privily in his lurking dens doth he murder the innocent; his eyes are set against the poor. For he lieth waiting secretly, even as a lion lurketh he in his den, that he may ravish the poor. He doth ravish the poor, when he getteth him into his net. He falleth down and humbleth himself that the congregation of the poor may fall into the hands of his captains." It was left, however, to the Rev. Robert L. Paddock, now Bishop of Eastern Oregon, to discover that in New York these "captains" might be police captains.

Mr. Paddock had been acquainted with the Tenth Ward since the summer of the Bishop's visit. "I happened to be boarding at the Settlement," he says, "studying the housing, working and recreation conditions, when Bishop Potter came down to visit the work. I shall never forget the courage it put into the people, the hopefulness which came into their lives, as they realized that this leader amongst

men was going to see with his own eyes the dark, crowded, dirty tenements and sweat-shops where they had been apparently condemned to suffer and die." When the Bishop was looking for a vicar for the pro-cathedral, he remembered Paddock. In May, 1899, he brought him over from Connecticut.

The new vicar entered upon his work not only with spiritual zeal, but with a social enthusiasm which was as intelligent as it was strong. He devoted himself to the welfare of his people. In the progress of his righteous undertakings, in the presence of vice uncommonly open, flagrant and menacing, he sought the coöperation of the police. To his amazement and dismay, he was received with insults. Not only were his requests refused, but he was abused for making them. He thus became concretely conscious of a situation the existence of which good citizens had long suspected. He found that men who were employed by the city to keep order, and defend the right against the wrong, were actually in league with the wrong. They were in the pay of criminals.

The impudence with which these scoundrels received the vicar of the pro-cathedral showed how confident they were in their own safety. Nobody could touch them. The victims of inquity in their districts had learned by bitter experience that the utterance of a word of complaint against the police would be followed by the material ruin of the complainant. They did not dare to speak. Even the protests of Mr. Paddock would have been met with contemptuous silence, had he not brought the matter to the attention of his brethren.

In the Diocesan Convention which met in the last week of September, 1900, Dr. Huntington offered the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that the Bishop of the Diocese, as the head of the Cathedral body, be requested to investigate the indignities alleged to have been offered to the clergy of the Pro-Cathedral by the police authorities of the district in which said Pro-Cathedral is situate, and if just case be

found to make formal protest in the name of the Church to the Mayor of New York."

Accordingly, to Robert A. Van Wyck, then mayor, Bishop Potter wrote on November 15th as follows.

"At No. 130 Stanton street, in this city, there is a work, for the people resident in that neighborhood, of a missionary, educational and social character, for which, for some years, I have been directly and personally responsible. Its influence for good order and good morals, to describe it in no other way, has been considerable; and has been recognized, I think I may venture to say, by those who know it, as of real and enduring value. It is not only a centre for the ministrations of religion, but also for training in various arts and handicrafts, for a free library, gymnasium, cooking, sewing, and other schools, etc., etc.; and as such, for those whose lives are often hard and narrow, and whose pleasures and privileges are few, it has been recognized as an important factor in promoting the virtue and good order of the communities to which it ministers.

"In view of these facts, it would seem that it has a valid claim upon the sympathy, coöperation, and at least courteous consideration of those who officially represent our city government and the guardianship of decency and good morals. I urge here no other claim for it, and I beg to say that I am not now addressing you because there has been in that which I now desire to bring to your notice a vulgar and brutal absence of those qualities in connection with one who happens to have been my own representative. The personal element, so far as he is or I am concerned, is of the very smallest consequence.

"But the thing that is of consequence, sir, is that when a minister of religion, and a resident in a particular neighborhood, whose calling, character, experience and truthfulness are all alike widely and abundantly recognized, goes to the headquarters of the police in his district to appeal to them for the protection of the young, the innocent and the defenceless against the leprous harpies who are hired as runners

and touters for the lowest and most infamous dens of vice, he is met not only with contempt and derision, but with the coarsest insult and obloquy.

"You will say that these are strong words. I hold myself ready at any time to submit the facts that substantiate them. The statement now in my possession of two clergymen of the highest character contains the testimony of two men, given without exaggeration, with the most painstaking reserve, and with absolute truthfulness. In substance it is briefly this: that when one of them complained to a police captain of a condition of things in his immediate neighborhood, whose preëminent infamy is a matter of common notoriety, a condition of things easily verified by any intelligent citizen who passes through the streets in which it exists, he was told that he lied; and that when, disheartened by such an experience, he carried his complaint to a higher authority in the police force he was met with insolent derision.

"I affirm that such virtual safeguarding of vice in the city of New York is a burning shame to any decent and civilized community, and an intolerable outrage upon those whom it especially and preëminently concerns. I am not, I beg to say, unmindful of the fact that the existence of vice in a great city is, practically, an inevitable condition of the life of such a community. I am not demanding that vice shall be 'stamped out' by the police or any other civil authority. That is a task which would demand for its achievement a race of angels and not of men. But I approach you, sir, to protest, with all my power against a condition of things in which vice is not only tolerated, but shielded and encouraged by those whose sworn duty it is to repress and discourage it, and, in the name of unsullied youth and innocence, of young girls and their mothers who, though living under conditions often of privation and the hard struggle for a livelihood, have in them every instinct of virtue and purity that are the ornaments of any so-called gentlewoman in the land. I know those of whom I speak; their homes, their lives, their toil, and their aspirations.

Their sensibility to insult or outrage is as keen as theirs who are in your household or mine; and before God and in the face of the citizens of New York I protest, as my people have charged me to do, against the habitual insult, the persistent menace, the unutterably defiling contacts, to which, day by day, because of the base complicity of the police of New York with the lowest forms of vice and crime, they are subjected. And, in the name of these little ones, these weak and defenceless ones, Christian and Hebrew alike, of many races and tongues, but of homes in which God is feared and His law reverenced, and virtue and decency honored and exemplified, I call upon you, sir, to save these people who are in a very real way committed to your charge, from a living hell, leprous, deadly, damning, to which the criminal supineness of the constituted authorities, set for the defence of decency and good order, threatens to doom them.

"I have no methods to suggest, no individuals to single out for especial rebuke and chastisement. These are for you to determine and to deal with. The situation which confronts us in this metropolis of America is one of common and open notoriety, and of such a nature as may well make us a byword and hissing among the nations of the world. For nowhere else on earth, I verily believe, certainly not in any civilized or Christian community, does there exist such a situation as defiles and dishonors New York to-day. Vice exists in many cities; but there is at least some persistent repression of its external manifestations, and the agents of the law are not, as here, widely believed to be battening upon the fruits of its most loathsome and unnamable forms.

"I come to you, sir, with this protest in accordance with the instructions lately laid upon me by the convention of the Episcopal Church of the Diocese of New York. The events which provoked its action occurred some months ago. There has been no haste on my part, or on theirs in behalf of whom I speak, in reaching conclusions as to the situation to which I refer. Months have passed since

the incidents occurred to which I have alluded in this communication. But, in all these months, the condition of things in whole neighborhoods has not improved, but rather grown worse. Vice not only flaunts in the most open ribald forms, but hard-working fathers and mothers find it harder than ever, to-day, to defend their households from a rapacious licentiousness which stops at no outrage and spares no tenderest victim. Such a state of things cries to God for vengeance, and calls no less loudly to you and me for redress.

"This, sir, is my case. I leave it confidently in your hands. Confidently, I say, because I cannot believe that you will fail to recognize in it a great duty, a duty which you will set yourself to discharge, no matter how great the cost. I do not forget what has come to be too often expected in our day from those who hold office when those who are their partisan associates are involved in wrong-doing. But I cannot believe that, in such a case as this, you will hesitate as to your duty, no matter where the doing of it may compel you to strike. Great place such as yours demands great courage and great sacrifice. Great crises such as that which has now come in the history of our city, and I think I may be forgiven if I add, in your own career, demand great acts. I cannot believe that you will disdain an opportunity so unique as that which now confronts you for action worthy of your office, your citizenship, your manhood."

Immediately upon the receipt of this letter, the Mayor wrote to the Police Commissioners:

"I transmit to you herewith a communication this day received by me from the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York.

"I call your attention to the statements in this letter relative to the conduct of two members of the police force toward citizens who called on them for official aid and assistance. An officer who insults a citizen is a disgrace to the service. You will immediately make a searching ex-

amination, and you will see to it that an offence so utterly disgraceful and outrageous is adequately punished.

"I also call your attention to what the bishop says as to the open and public violations of law and decency in the neighborhood of the pro-cathedral in Stanton street. You will, at once, take such steps as shall secure to him, and to all working to the same end, the coöperation and assistance of yourselves and your subordinates, to the fullest extent of your authority. This matter must receive your active and vigorous effort, and you must at once take such official action as will do away with the conditions of which the bishop complains.

"I wish it distinctly understood that to this end I shall use to the utmost limit all the power vested in me, and that I shall hold to personal responsibility those who fail to exert themselves in like manner."

To the Bishop he said:

"I wish here to assure you that I will exert every power which the law has given me to right the wrongs and do away with the conditions of which you complain, and to secure a hearty and efficient coöperation by the Police Department with all who are working to do away with public violations of law and decency.

"I stand ready at all times to assist and coöperate with you in this matter."

The President of the Police Board wrote to the Bishop:

"The first knowledge that any member of the police board had of this alleged insult," he said, "was conveyed in the public prints of Sept. 28, which reported the proceedings of the Episcopal convention, having reference to this subject-matter. The resolution adopted by such convention called for an investigation by you and, if the facts justified it, the presentation of a suitable communication to the mayor. In view of this resolution the police board has waited the result of your investigation and such action as you should deem necessary.

"The receipt of your communication from the mayor

places the matter now before the board for its action, and to the end that proper charges may be formulated against the officers complained of, the preparation of which necessarily required a specific statement of the dates and times of the alleged offense and the persons against whom the offense was committed, I respectfully request that you cause to be submitted to me for the use of the police board the name of the person or persons against whom the offense was committed, dates or date of its occurrence and the language used as nearly as may be.

"Upon the receipt of such information charges will be formulated and preferred against these officers who may be named. The practice of the police board has been to permit the appearance of counsel for the parties making complaints on the trial had against a member of the force. In this case, however, there is no desire that the complaint should be made by the party to whom the alleged insult was given, the police board preferring the charge. It will, however, permit and it most earnestly requests that you designate some counselor at law who will represent you in the prosecution of this complaint, and if in his judgment it is deemed best the form of complaint may be drafted by such counsel.

"In reference to the statements contained in your communication as to open and public violation of law and discipline in the neighborhood of the pro-cathedral the board has taken action thereon."

Even Mr. Richard Croker, who was supposed, as the master of Tammany, to be the actual ruler of the city, was aroused to action. He told reporters that he had already instructed the District Attorney to "let no guilty politician escape." "Any man," he said, "whether in Tammany Hall or not, who is engaged in traffic of that kind, should be politically and socially ostracized. He is a contemptible scoundrel, and no name is hard enough to fit him."

Not only the city but the country read the Bishop's letter. Every newspaper in every important town had an editorial

about it. Again, as at the Washington Centennial, Bishop Potter had spoken the mind of all good citizens. These two utterances, the sermon and the letter, mark the two high points in his political service.

The admirers, however, who by reason of these events spoke of him as an "ecclesiastical statesman," used the adjective in a sense other than that in which it was applied to mediæval bishops. The ecclesiastical statesman, in that sense, is occupied with ecclesiastical affairs. He is doing in the Church that which his secular neighbor is doing in the State. If he is a politician, he is setting forward the interests of his church party; if he is a statesman, he is advancing the interests of the general church. In either case he represents a religious organization, in whose councils he is an eminent and influential person. He has about him an intimate circle of friends, companions and disciples, and he and they shape legislation. Nothing can get through the General Assembly or the General Convention without his approval.

Bishop Potter was not an ecclesiastical statesman of that kind. His position for many years as secretary of the House of Bishops kept him out of the House of Deputies. When he became a bishop, the closed doors behind which the bishops conduct their business prevented the people from hearing what he said. He desired to have the doors opened, and voted on that side in the debate which arose at every triennial session, but without effect. It was understood, however, that he was not an especially notable leader in the discussions of the brethren. His clear mind and his instinct for order enabled him, indeed, to be useful, on occasion, in the disentanglement of the twisted skein of parliamentary procedure. It is said that one time, in his secretarial days, when several bishops had tried in vain to untie the hard knot of debate, and Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith was endeavoring in his turn to get it straight, Henry Potter wrote on a slip of paper and handed to his neighbor the words, "Genesis 43 : 34," which being consulted

was found to read, "But Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs." Some doubt is cast upon the story by the fact that it is told in England in reference to Benjamin Jowett. It is certain, however, that it was to Bishop Potter that Bishop Brooks whispered, in the course of his first session with the House of Bishops, "Henry, is it always dull as this?" sure of Potter's sympathy.

Bishop Potter's interests were not ecclesiastical but religious. His supreme desire was to make the Church increasingly effective in bringing about the betterment of society. He believed with all his heart, and said in public on a hundred occasions, that social betterment cannot be accomplished by better laws, or better enforcement of them by the police, by better houses or by better wages, but by the spirit of God speaking to the soul of man. The one essential human need is the need of religion. He conceived it to be the business of his life to bring religion to bear upon all human affairs. He was the accepted spokesman of the Christian ministry of New York because he could be trusted, above all men, at every public meeting, to do that thing.

At the same time he had a clear conviction as to the limits of ministerial responsibility. He believed that the function of the Church is to inspire men to social action, but not to direct them.

He preached in St. Paul's Chapel, a week after the publication of his letter to the Mayor.

"If you and I could go up to any very great height in New York to-day we might look down, as Christ did upon Jerusalem years ago, and see the beautiful structures of architecture, the great number of stores and dwellings, the men and women going about their daily vocations, and everything that goes to make up the business and social life of a great city. But we might see more. We could see the homes of men and women, the shames and infamies, the secret crimes and monster passions, the hatred and cruelties of men, and what monstrosities are there protected.

"Nobody who has any realization of this great and grave situation will fail to discharge his or her obligations. Somewhere you men and women have a place in this movement. Find that place, and then with the strength of God keep your shoulder to the wheel. First organize. New York will not be redeemed by emotion, by denunciation, or by turning your back upon it. There is a burning need of the redemption of the city whose sons we are. There are different religions, different nationalities and different associations, but we must forget them.

"If we could find three or five men whom we all could trust and believe in — and there are hundreds of them — and say to them, 'What do you want us to do?' we would trust in their judgment and follow their lead, and half of this great work would be done.

"We need not only vigilance but persistence. First of all, offer up a prayer to God. He will open your eyes, and by the power of His Son will kindle a flame of righteous indignation in your hearts, and keep it burning with a firm endurance, until these great crimes are blotted out and New York is purified."

But he declined to attend a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce to plan a campaign against the police protection of vice, or to be a leader in a movement to enlist in such a campaign the churches of New York.

"In such an effort," he said, "an ecclesiastic is not the best instrument. His particular affiliations make him distinctly not a *persona grata* to priests and ministers (and sometimes people) of other communions, with whom a certain *odium theologicum* is still a very active sentiment. The clergy may fitly exercise the prophetic office of rousing, warning, entreating; but in social and political movements their best service will be in the ranks, where, as in times of stress and siege they may patrol, mount guard, keep watch, but leave to others the task of generalship.

"As to this, in the present emergency, I am quite clear. New York wants a strong committee of three or five trusted

laymen, to coördinate forces, sentiment and purpose; and then, if we can maintain the present awakened sense of danger, the rest will almost accomplish itself."

He presented the matter to the Diocesan Convention (1901). "A corrupt system, whose infamous details have since been steadily uncovered to our increasing horror and humiliation, was brazenly ignored by those who were fattening on its spoils, and the world was presented with the astounding spectacle of a great municipality whose civic mechanism was largely employed in trading in the bodies and souls of the innocent and defenceless. What has been published in this connection is but the merest hint of what exists — and exists, most appalling of all, as the evidence has come to me under the seal of confidence, in overwhelming volume and force to demonstrate — under a system of terrorism which compels its victims to recognize that to denounce it means the utter ruin, so far as all their worldly interests are concerned, of those who dare to do so. This infamous organization for making merchandise of the corruption of girls and boys, and defenceless men and women, has adroitly sought to obscure a situation concerning which all honest people are entirely clear by saying that vice cannot be wholly suppressed. Nobody has made upon the authorities of New York any such grotesque demand. All that our citizens have asked is that the government of the city shall not be employed to protect a trade in vice, which is carried on for the benefit of a political organization. The case is entirely clear. No Mephistophelian cunning can obscure it, and I thank God there is abundant evidence that the end of such a condition of things is not far off. The police force of this city, only partially tainted, I rejoice to believe, has come to abhor the situation and their own slavery far more widely than is suspected; and the people, — those who dwell in the homes and make up the households which this infamy most of all invades — are not deceived by the attempts that are made to palliate or excuse it, but rather determined that it shall come to an

end. Whether their cry and prayer for help shall be answered, will depend largely upon the answer which we here, and those whom we represent, shall make to it. The classes that call themselves educated and refined, the possessors of wealth and influence, gentlewomen whose moral standards, high as they are, are no higher than those of their less privileged sisters, the clergy and their people, all alike, must bear a hand here, and arise and strive for God, and our city's honor. We face a great crisis. May the Master whom we profess to serve enable us worthily to meet it!"

They did meet it. The citizens whom the bishop's letter had informed, and to whose consciences it had appealed, were urged by Dr. Howard Crosby's influential organization for the repression of vice, and marshalled by the Citizens Union. They rose up at the next election and turned Tammany out.

CHAPTER XXIV

COMPLETING TWENTY YEARS

1901-1903

On June 29, 1901, Bishop Potter spoke in the chapel of the General Theological Seminary at a service held to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the ordination of five clergymen of New York. After the service he acted as toastmaster at dinner in the refectory, having before him five loving-cups which he presented with appropriate remarks. Hardly had these pleasant ceremonies been concluded when he was hastily summoned to the sick chamber of his wife.

Mrs. Potter had not been in good health for some time, but no marked change had appeared in her condition. A few days before, she had returned from Newport ill, but there seemed to be no reason for serious apprehension. She suddenly became alarmingly worse, and that night died.

It was no longer the custom, as in the days of the Bishop's father, to publish affectionate appreciations of the departed members of one's family. Bishop Potter endured his grief in silence. A friend, however, wrote in the *Churchman* a little obituary notice. Mrs. Potter, she said, "made no compromise with truth." She drew a clear line between what she considered to be right and what she considered to be wrong, and permitted no trespassing across it. She saw black as black, and white as white. She had no patience with moral indifference or indefiniteness. "Friendship to her was sacred, sacramental, eternal." She was unfailingly, and sometimes unsparingly, loyal. She helped and inspired her friends by the wit and charm of her conversation, and

by the rapid and judicious reading whose discoveries and treasures she shared with them, but chiefly by her faith in their great possibilities and the fidelity with which she held them to their ideals.

A son and five daughters survived her.

The Bishop spent the summer in the Adirondacks. In August, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers began a strike against the United States Steel Corporation, which threatened to be a national disaster. Ten days after the beginning of the strike the Bishop replied to a letter from Mr. W. R. Hearst, editor of the New York *American* and *Journal*.

"It would take a volume," the Bishop said, "to answer the long list of questions which the present labor situation has brought forth. . . . I confess the gravest question seems to me to be, *How can workingmen and employers be helped to a better understanding of their mutual interests, and, indeed, even before that, of the fact that their interests are mutual?*

"There is something infinitely pathetic in the effort of Mr. Shaffer and his confrères to 'play politics' in outwitting the corporations. It is all so futile and mischievous. Instead of encouraging it, and lending itself (as it is constantly doing) to inflame class hatreds, would it not be worth while for the press to try and educate the ignorant to some intelligent understanding of social problems? What is wanted is *a symposium of clever men discussing the question of wages, common ownership of plants and land — anything to make the people think.*

"You must, first of all, provide somehow a sound, public opinion.

"If, on the one hand, you have large indifference, commercial greed, impatience of any other considerations than those involved in the doctrine of demand and supply; and if, on the other, you have the resentment provoked by real or fancied wrongs, imperfect apprehension of fundamental economic truths, exaggerated estimates of the value of

particular specifics for the cure of existing conditions, or blind and unreasoning devotion to a particular leader; you have hardly the elements for making sound, public opinion. And yet, if you are to avail yourself of them, you must have them at hand.

"The press, which, you must pardon me for saying in all frankness, has not always, in seeking to befriend labor, really been eager to serve its best interests, must here make the inexorably necessary beginning by refraining from exaggeration, and discouraging heated speech. To inflame passion, to pervert facts, to withhold qualifying considerations which sometimes alter the whole aspect of a particular question, these are methods for the poorest and least creditable type of a jury lawyer perhaps, but they are not those of a great public teacher and enlightener, such as a newspaper of the first class should be.

"I do not need to be told at this point that the sensational policy is usually most effective for selling a newspaper, but I think it would be worth while for the press, even from a purely commercial point of view, to consider whether a policy which inflames the popular judgment, but does not enlighten it, may not involve in its consequences destructive forces which do not discriminate as to where they strike, and which, in pulling down, like Samson, the structure of which they are a part, perish with their enemies in its ruins. Surely there is some better way than that, and surely it is worth while for the press to try and find it out.

"If you can secure, therefore, as already mentioned, the aid of competent minds, representing the different points of view on the labor question in its largest aspect, and if they are willing to discuss it without prejudice and without invective, two results at least may be gained — a large group of facts, now little recognized, will be brought into view, and all reasonable men, of whatever calling or theory, will be constrained to own, first, that there is no single, short-cut, patent-applied-for remedy for a situation so complex; and second, that along lines of mutual considera-

tion and concession that solution is not to be dismissed as impossible.

"To lead men to think and know, and not to shout, or to shriek, or to strike, that is the best service you can render. For then, when the time comes that they must both shout and strike, they may hope to do so to some purpose."

The result of this suggestion was a series of articles in Mr. Hearst's newspapers, in New York, in Chicago, and in San Francisco, discussing the industrial situation. The general theme was, "How can Labor and Capital be Reconciled?" The Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, of New York, conducted the debate, which continued from the end of August, 1901, to the beginning of November. It began with Bishop Potter's letter as above, and enlisted the competent services of "college professors, national and state officials, ecclesiastics, lawyers, philanthropists and reformers, men of affairs and labor leaders." Among the contributors were Cardinal Gibbons and Samuel Gompers, Carroll D. Wright and Keir Hardie, N. O. Nelson and Jacob Riis, Everett P. Wheeler and William T. Stead, — forty-five in all. They discussed "Combinations of Employers and Employed," "Trusts and Labor Unions," "Conciliation and Arbitration," "Socialism and Single Tax," and the problem of the "Unemployed." Bishop Potter's contribution, in addition to the opening letter, was a brief paper on arbitration. Dr. Peters afterwards made the papers into a book, and they were published (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902) under the title "Labor and Capital."

The University of Pennsylvania had conferred upon Bishop Potter, in February, 1901, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The same degree was conferred upon him in November by Yale University at its Bicentenary Celebration. "In recognition," said President Hadley, "of that vigor of administration and unremitting service of public morals which has made the church a power in the state, I confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Laws, and admit you to all its rights and privileges."

Some of the fruits of his recent study and experience the Bishop gathered together in a brief series of Bedell Lectures at Kenyon College (November, 1901) on "Man, Men, and their Masters." He spoke of "The Individual," "The Corporation" and "The State." He considered these matters at greater length in a course of lectures at Yale (April 21 to May 2, 1902) on a foundation established by William E. Dodge. The foundation called for lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship. Bishop Potter's subject was "The Citizen in his Relation to the Industrial Situation." He spoke of "The Industrial Situation," "The Citizen and the Working-Man," "The Citizen and the Capitalist," "The Citizen and the Consumer," "The Citizen and the Corporation," "The Citizen and the State."

They long remembered at Gambier how the Bishop, after his last Bedell lecture, was driven five miles over the hills to the neighboring town of Mt. Vernon, where he addressed the clergy, the mayor and council, and the citizens, on "Civic Duties and Reform in Corporations." The next day he went to Cleveland, and addressed the students of Adelbert College.

In these two volumes of lectures, Bishop Potter stated in final form his social message. They were the summary of a thousand sermons. In them he said over again what he had been saying all his life.

He referred in one of them to the fact that his ministry, after his diaconate, "began in a large manufacturing town in a seaboard State, and was from its outset concerned, among others, with iron-founders, moulders, wrought-iron workers, and the like." These men were his parishioners and friends. To promote their welfare was his own supreme interest.

He was called, indeed, to be the pastor of the rich. In Boston and in New York he was brought into intimate relations with the most privileged people. Wherever he went he entered naturally, as by right, into the best society. It was as a matter of course that in Baden-Baden he walked

with the Prince of Wales, and that in London, even while he was a parish minister, content with "humble lodgings," he was sought out by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But he never forgot that his maternal grandfather was a schoolmaster, and that his paternal grandfather was a farmer, and that behind them both were generations of plain, hard-working people. He liked to remember not only that his English ancestor, in Coventry, bore a modest title, but that he was a dyer of wool, and good at his trade. His associations enabled him to understand both the privileged and the unprivileged, and the constant endeavor of his life was to help them to understand each other.

The young men who heard these lectures perceived that the speaker was bringing to them the results of a vital experience, and that he was mightily in earnest. They gave him the attention which youth eagerly gives to the man who has done great things. They knew how he had written to the Mayor of New York, and how he had preached to the President of the United States. They recognized in him, before he said a word, not only a chief minister of his church, but a foremost citizen of the Republic. They knew also that he was acquainted with the industrial situation from the inside, and was repeatedly called upon to act as arbitrator or umpire in labor differences between workingmen and their employers.

The lectures are a revelation of Bishop Potter's extensive reading. They show the results not only of experience but of study. They are remarkable not only for the straight vigor of their style, but for their close reasoning, their knowledge of history, and their acquaintance with books. He quotes in one of them an incident of a colored preacher whose prayer "consisted mainly in his shouting over and over again 'O Lord, give us mo' powah — mo' powah, Lord!' until a colored brother beside him, exasperated beyond endurance, at length interjected, 'Oh, g'long, brudder, Youse got powah enough. Better ask de Lord to give yo' some mo' idees!'" The lectures are filled with ideas.

How he found time, in his crowded life, to read, is a mystery. But he did. In almost every Convention Address, he cited a paragraph, sometimes several paragraphs, from some current writer. He read, pencil in hand, noting what he could make use of. The lectures show his acquaintance with Mackenzie's "Introduction to Social Philosophy," Howell's "Trade-Unionism, New and Old," Aveling's "Working Class Movement in America," Geoffrey Drage's "Labor Problem," Shailer Mathews' "Social Teaching of Jesus," Mallock's "Labor and the Popular Welfare," Eden's "State of the Poor," and other like books. The facility with which he spoke, and the innumerable occasions on which his voice was heard, inclined some critics to consider him superficial. He was sometimes superficial, inevitably; he sometimes uttered opinions which had their basis in enthusiasm rather than in reflection. He knew very well that he was not a scholar in the technical sense. He never thought of himself as a man of learning. He was humbly aware of his limitations. But within these limitations, which made him an administrator rather than a philosopher, he had a clear, sound mind which saw into the significance of life. In these lectures he was dealing with subjects about which he was uncommonly informed, and in preparation for them he read the practical books which he was eminently fitted to understand; and in consequence the lectures at Yale, which repeated a great part of the lectures at Kenyon, show him at his intellectual best.

He was frankly the champion of the working-man. The labor unions chose him to arbitrate their disputes with their employers because they were certain not only of his fairness but of his sympathy. In the Civic Federation, in which he was an active member, his place was in the Committee on Conciliation and Mediation. Such a place was suited to his disposition. That spirit of comprehensiveness, which governed his dealings with ecclesiastical and theological differences, determined his attitude toward the industrial

situation. He could recite with approval the lines of Kipling:

> "Much I owe to the Land that grew
> More to the Life that fed,
> But most to Allah who gave me two
> Separate sides to my head."

He had no partisan instincts. Wherever he saw truth and right he allied himself with it, quite regardless of names and labels. He belonged to no church party — and to all. He was under no allegiance to either socialist or capitalist. He was put on the Conciliation Committee of the Federation because he knew intimately so many directors of corporations, and was so ready to tell them exactly what he thought. He spoke with equal frankness to the labor unions.

In this spirit of comprehensiveness, he warned his hearers at Yale against the fallacy of generalization. "Read the travellers' tales about the African negro from Zanzibar to the great Nyanza, and a greater scoundrel, thief, liar, brute-beast, does not walk the earth: and then read the life of David Livingstone, and follow the dusky band who, with a tenderness and reverence that no funeral procession that ever trod the earth excelled, carried his dead body all the way from that spot in the heart of the dark continent where he breathed out his life to the ship that bore his sacred ashes to their final resting-place in Westminster Abbey; and then take care how you generalize about men, or races, or classes, on the basis of insufficient facts. For with men, whether in a wilderness or in a mill, it is, after all, as it is with women in a kitchen. There are heads of households, whom we all know, who never keep a servant a week, whose every domestic is a thief, an idler, or an incompetent; people whose homes are the perpetual scenes of discussions and dismissals, and whose testimony, if it were given in a court of justice under oath, would be that there had never been an honest or faithful domestic in their houses; and yet, next door to just such people, there are households

wherein reign peace and order and mutual consideration, and where the service that is rendered earns not only its wages, but respect and gratitude — and deserves them both."

Thus in November, 1902, addressing the League for Political Education, he said, as on many other occasions, that the solution of industrial difficulties lay in better understanding of employers and employees, in greater sympathy, and fuller realization of social duty. He declared that such conditions as existed in the coal fields, where men at the age of fifty were at the end not only of their activity but of their life, must be changed by outside pressure. Only by combination of working-men could betterment be brought about. Commenting on the great coal strike, he said that after hearing both sides his impression was that each was determined to misunderstand the other. "The miners believed that the operators wanted to put the screws on them, and the operators seemed to think that the men wanted to get control of their property."

In December, speaking on the lesson of the coal strike to the Men's Club of Grace Chapel, he said, "I believe in strikes. I believe also in the conservative value of the organization from which the strikes come." One lesson he found in the power of organization, but he found another lesson in the exaggeration of that power. "It is true," he said, "that organized labor should realize the change that was going on in the American mind toward it. This Republic stands for personal freedom; anything that impairs that freedom, the country will not stand for." He believed that the time was approaching when strikes will cease, because men will ask themselves in the presence of their differences, not what considerations of profit and dividends, but what considerations of justice and humanity are involved.

In his Yale lectures he declared again his conviction that the permanent solution of the problems of industry is in religion. He spoke with enthusiasm of the work of such men as Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley and

Thomas Hughes. These men turned upon the perplexing problems of our social disorders the light of a divine life. For centuries the church had been getting farther and farther away from the people, understanding them less, seeing them less, loving them less. For well-nigh a thousand years religion stood in the popular mind only for a colossal and portentous menace on the one hand, and for a splendid ceremonial and a grasping company of official ceremonialists on the other. And then, at last, the Bible, with its strange and unfamiliar message, broke on the ears of the people, and slowly filtered down into the popular consciousness, as the revelation of a new and divine social order, here and to-day.

"There are still ecclesiastics, even among ourselves, who do not believe anything of the sort. There are still devout men, and they in holy orders, who believe that my presence here, and yours as listeners to anything that I may say, is a grave misuse, if not a dangerous perversion, of spiritual office and function. There are still men and women, everywhere, who call themselves religious, who do not hesitate to maintain that religion has nothing whatever to do with the social conditions of human life, unless it be to teach men to look forward to an existence when they and their fellows shall be delivered from them; and, meanwhile, to cultivate such patience and resignation as they may. And since this is so, you and I must first of all be able, in the face of all that confronts us in these problems, social, economic, and industrial, to show that religion has some warrant for being concerned with them; and that in the great task of their solution, we may not, must not, withhold our hands. To what, now, does such a challenge send us, if not to the feet of Jesus Christ? He is our Master, and we His pupils."

Within the two weeks during which Bishop Potter was engaged in delivering the Yale lectures, he preached two notable sermons: one in Worcester, Massachusetts, at the consecration of Dr. Vinton, the other in Philadelphia, at

the Consecration of Dr. Mackay-Smith. Having been a bishop now for almost twenty years he addressed the men who were newly entering upon that office, naturally and revealingly, out of his own experience.

Speaking in Worcester he said: "A Bishop is often faulted because he will not concern himself with controversies which, at one time or another, have threatened to rend the church in twain and concerning which, we say complainingly, he has no word to speak. Well, when we have gotten tired, brethren, of saying that he does not speak because he does not dare to, it may sometimes dawn upon us that he does not speak because the question is really not large enough to make it worth while for him to concern himself with it.

"Your neighbor in the next parish uses wafer bread, does he, my reverend brother, and you have gone to your bishop to insist that he shall discipline him; and the bishop is — well, quiescent and inert, and you are going to denounce him as a traitor to the Protestant religion. But one of these days it is just possible that it may dawn upon you that your bishop is passing sleepless nights, and perplexed though prayerful days, looking at the church and our modern life with a little wider outlook than yours. He sees perils that you have never dreamed of, and that are much greater than the use or non-use of wafer bread."

"Ah, no! no! It is not merely business energy, nor administrative ability, nor even pulpit power that we want in the episcopate. An episcopate of true power must be an episcopate of vision. Through the sophistries of the moment, through the fallacies alike of superstition and fanaticism, the bishop's must be an eye that penetrates beneath them to those great and unchanging truths that underlie them all."

Speaking in Philadelphia, he commented on the recent action of an English bishop who had "sought to unburden himself of an episcopal palace, in a remote and inaccessible rural neighborhood, whose maintenance and occupancy would greatly tax his resources, and isolate, and so abridge,

his influence." This "sane position," he said, "was at once met with a vehement protest against the profane modern who would surrender a notable historic monument in order to utilize its proceeds for merely practical purposes. The episcopate, it was urged, must maintain itself with a certain state, and pomp, and ceremony, if it were to maintain its influence." Against this idea of the office of a bishop he expressed himself with vigor. In the New Testament, he said, "the habits, the character, the record, the domestic relationships of a bishop, are defined with considerable minuteness; but through it all there is no remotest trace of any hint that pledges it to state, or cost, or splendor. On the contrary, when the Church, in that form set forth in the Ordinal, which we are using this morning, would draw for us her ideal portrait of a bishop, she frames it in these incomparable words of its Epistle in which the foremost figure of all her first Apostles exclaims: 'I have coveted no man's silver, or gold or apparel. Yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'"

That kind of bishop he himself desired to be; not ministered unto, but ministering; not receiving but giving — giving his time, his energy, his best thought, his whole life to the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

His official diary about this time reads as follows:

"*April 20, Third Sunday after Easter* A.M. — In the Chapel of Yale University, preached.

"P.M. — At the Church of the Incarnation, New York, delivered an address.

"*Evening.* — At St. Mary's Church, Mott Haven, confirmed twenty-six and addressed them.

"*April 21, Monday.* — At Yale University delivered the first of the Dodge Lectures on Citizenship and the Industrial Situation.

"*April 22, Tuesday.* — At All Saints' Church, Worcester, at the Consecration of the Rev. A. H. Vinton, D.D., as Bishop of Western Massachusetts, preached.

"*April 23, Wednesday.* — At Yale University, delivered the second of the Dodge Foundation Lectures.

"*April 24, Thursday.* — At the Church of the Holy Cross, New York, preached, confirmed fifty-four and addressed them.

"*April 25, St. Mark's Day.* — At Yale University delivered the third of the lectures of the Dodge Foundation.

"*April 27, Fourth Sunday after Easter.* — At Christ Church, Pelham, preached, confirmed nineteen, addressed them and celebrated the Holy Communion.

"*3:30 P.M.* — At the Church of the Holy Comforter, Eltingville, preached, confirmed five and addressed them.

"*5 P.M.* — At St. Simon's Church, Concord, preached, confirmed seven and addressed them.

"*Evening.* — At Christ Church, New Brighton, preached, confirmed thirty-seven and addressed them.

"*April 28, Monday.* — At Yale University, delivered the fourth of the Dodge Foundation Lectures.

"*April 30, Wednesday.* — Delivered the fifth of the Dodge Foundation Lectures.

"*May 1, St. Philip and St. James' Day, A.M.* — At the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, preached the sermon at the consecration of the Rev. Alexander Mackay-Smith, D.D. as Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

"*P.M.* — Visited St. Luke's Home, New York.

"*Evening.* — Addressed in private a meeting of men in the interest of the present administration of the Philippine Islands.

"*May 2, Friday.* — At Yale University, delivered the Sixth (and last) of the Dodge Foundation Lectures.

"*May 4, Fifth Sunday after Easter, 9:30 A.M.* — At the Church of the Holy Innocents, Highland Falls, confirmed sixteen and addressed them.

"*10:30 A.M.* — At the Military Chapel, West Point, preached, confirmed four and addressed them.

"*Evening.* — At the Church of the Advocate, New York, preached, confirmed forty and addressed them.

"*May 5, Monday A.M.* — At the Church of the Ascension, New York, celebrated the Holy Communion, and met the officers of the Parochial Mission Society.

"*2 P.M.* — Addressed the Sunday School Conference at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

"*5 P.M.* — At No. 10, North Washington Square, New York, presided at the annual meeting of the Italian Mission.

May 6, Tuesday, 4:30 P.M. — At No. 10, North Washington Square, New York, presided at a special meeting of the Trustees of the Cathedral.

"*Evening.* — At Kane Lodge. A. and F. M., delivered an address.

"*May 7, Wednesday, P.M.* — At the Cathedral House, delivered an address at the closing of the Cathedral School."

The next entry is under date of *June 1, First Sunday after Trinity.* — "At sea on S. S. Oceanic, read prayers and preached."

Bishop Potter had broken down. In the midst of the service on May 7th, when the time came for him to speak to the boys of the choir school, he was found to be in a faint. He aroused himself, and spoke as he had intended, but it was plain that his immediate engagements must be cancelled. His physician pronounced him physically sound, and specialists who examined him were of the opinion that the trouble was only overwork. It was not that the preceding weeks had been crowded with appointments beyond precedent; they were good average weeks. But he had reached the inevitable point where it was impossible to continue at that pressure.

He sent for one of his most congenial friends, the Rev. Dr. Grosvenor, rector of the Church of the Incarnation, and asked him to go with him and one of his daughters

for three months over the sea. He sailed on May 28th, with his stateroom filled with flowers, sending back word to his friends, "I wish you would deny that I am ill, for I am only very tired." But he was much more than tired. He lacked two years of the scriptural threescore and ten, but he had passed the summit of his strength. Whatever it was that happened to him that day when he fainted in the chancel, it was the beginning of the end.

In the New York *Evening Post* for July 12th (1902) appeared an announcement of the engagement of Bishop Potter to Mrs. Alfred Corning Clark. On October 4th, in the church at Cooperstown, they were married. Nothing in his life revealed more clearly his innate unworldliness. The fact that Mrs. Clark was a woman of wealth seems never to have entered into his mind. He was surprised at the natural comments of the newspapers. Money had never meant much to him, except as it was convenient for the furthering of his great plans for the general good. He had no need of it. His tastes were simple, and he had a preference for plain living. Mrs. Clark was only a few years younger than himself, a helper in many of his undertakings, sympathetic with his plans, appreciative of his ideals. She lived, indeed, in a large house, but with more genuine simplicity of spirit than may be found in the soul of many a lodger in a "third floor back."

At the Diocesan Convention in September, 1902, Bishop Potter called attention to the fact that the year following would be the twentieth of his episcopate. He suggested the need of more adequate episcopal service than he might be able to render. The manner of meeting this need he left to the decision of the Diocese. He might call to his assistance, upon occasion, bishops from outside the Diocese; or the Diocese might be divided; or a coadjutor might be elected.

There was no doubt in his own mind as to the wisest course to be pursued. He was in favor of the election of a coadjutor. Writing to Dr. Batten (February 23, 1903) he said: "In regard to the right of the Diocese to decide a

question whether as to division, or the election of a coadjutor to its Bishop, as against the right of the Bishop himself to settle such questions, I feel very strongly, and I think the canons are very clear. The whole genius of our Church's history is against individualism in its government; and, in matters which concern the exercise of authority, it is quite easy to see that a bishop might withold a request for either a coadjutor or the division of the diocese, for reasons which, although he might be quite unconscious of the fact, would not be altogether worthy. The love of power is one of the strongest and most imperishable instincts of human nature.

"The Church has very wisely, therefore, I think, referred these questions to the Diocese; that is, to the Diocesan Convention. But I have not hesitated to give to the Church, in two or three recent addresses, my own judgment in the matter, which is, in substance —

"(*a*) That the division of a diocese like New York would be altogether unfortunate and unwise. It has no see city other than New York City, and its extremities are so weak that if severed from the mother heart and head there is only the remotest prospect of their being cared for.

"(*b*) Again, as I have repeatedly said, any redistribution of the territory of the State of New York for which this Diocese might be responsible should reckon-in other dioceses which have been created out of the original Diocese of New York, and do what could be done to strengthen them. It was for this reason that, a few years ago, I strove for action in the Federate Council on a plan with which you are already familiar. I still think that plan is the wisest and most helpful that could be devised. But if the other dioceses in this State will not unite in employing it, then my personal conviction is that the wisest step is the election of a coadjutor for the Diocese of New York, because such an arrangement would enable the Diocese to have a better maternal care for the feebler parts that are now dependent upon her.

"It is expected, I know, by gentlemen who are zealous for the division of the Diocese, that after that division has been consummated, or before, endowment funds could be secured for the new diocese, or some other method devised by which the burdens now resting upon this diocese shall be borne by the new one. For any such belief I do not think that there is the remotest warrant; and the remoter counties, parishes, and clergy of the present diocese, if they are wise, will insist upon retaining their relation to their Mother."

The plan to which the Bishop referred "involved the creation of two new dioceses, and the redistribution among the seven of the whole territory of the State."

Two committees were appointed by the Convention, one on the election of a bishop coadjutor, the other on the readjustment of diocesan lines. The Bishop's Annual Address in 1903 left the matter entirely open. "It is for the Convention and the Diocese, which are permanencies, and not for the Bishop who is an incident, to decide what shall be the policy of a Diocese; and therefore it is for the Convention, and not for me, to determine whether it shall exscind a part of its present jurisdiction, or whether it shall elect a coadjutor. If it shall adopt the latter mode of relief, in accordance with the requirements of Section V of Canon 19 of Title I of the Digest, which requires that 'before the election of a Bishop Coadjutor the Bishop of the Diocese shall consent in writing to such election, and in such consent shall state the duties which he thereby assigns to the Bishop Coadjutor when duly elected and consecrated,' I beg to say that I hereby consent to the election of a Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of New York, that I hereby resign to him one-half of my salary, and that I hereby assign to him all confirmations in the principal parishes in the city of New York, all consecrations of churches, and ordinations, and all administration of discipline. I shall be glad, if I may, to retain as my own duty visitations to rural churches, the admission of candidates

for Holy Orders, and of persons in Holy Orders of other dioceses applying to be transferred to this."

Following this address, the Convention voted that it deemed "the election of a coadjutor the necessary provision at this time for more episcopal service." They thereupon elected to that office (October 1, 1903) the Rev. Dr. David Hummel Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church. On motion of the Rev. Dr. Grosvenor, whose name stood next to that of Dr. Greer in the numerical order of ballots, the election was made unanimous.

"I believe profoundly," said Bishop Potter, "that the clergy and the laity of this Diocese will find in him a man of large and generous sympathies, and of a willingness to recognize the governing conditions of the Diocese of New York, and to have charge of the administration of all sorts and conditions of men. I have great delight in presenting him to you, and asking you to rise and receive from his own lips the answer to the call which you have given him."

Dr. Greer, addressing the Convention, said: "I am too much impressed with the solemnity of this occasion to use the ordinary language of conventional courtesy to thank you for what you have done. I do not at all regard it in light of honor or compliment. It is far above all that. It is a great and sacred trust to which you have seen fit to summon me. I think I may say that many of you know I did not seek it. I rather shrank from it. I was happy and contented in my field of work, and hoped that in that field I could fill up the full measure of my usefulness to God and my fellowmen, and it breaks my heart to leave it. But you have called me.

"One thing, however, you could not, and cannot, and I am sure, would not compel me to do. You would not compel me to be the bishop of any party or school of thought in this Diocese or in the Church at large. I recognize that fact that beneath the surface, however diversified that surface may be, there is a deep and loyal devotion to our common Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. There is no

name that can so touch and sway our hearts as that name. That name is the one that I shall recognize, and that personality is the one that I shall try to serve.

"There are only two things for me to say in conclusion. One is that it would be a great privilege to stand by the side of our worthy and noble Bishop, who has for a score of years borne the burden of this arduous responsibility and work, and who has attained the highest reputation and character, not only throughout this Diocese, but throughout the Church, and who has discharged his duties in such a faithful and conscientious manner, and with such statesmanlike ability.

"The only other thing I have to say, gentlemen, is this: I cannot but recognize your summons as the call of God, and, whatever it may involve to me personally, with such power as God has given me and such help as you can furnish and supply, I will, if your choice shall be confirmed by the Church at large, accept the responsibility and devote myself to the work of that high office."

Dr. Greer was consecrated on January 26th, 1904.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PEOPLE'S BISHOP

1904–1907

In the course of the correspondence which preceded the diocesan provision for episcopal relief, Bishop Potter wrote to a friend, "Whatever may be done for the relief of the Metropolitan Diocese, care should be taken not to create a jurisdiction which shall condemn its Ordinary to the fate of a Cockney bishop. No bishop who is wholly out of contact with rural life can fail to become that very prejudiced, unsympathetic, and opinionated thing!"

He chose, therefore, the country parishes; adding to them the smaller churches of the city. With all his appreciation of social ceremony, and his frank pleasure in the festivities of "society," he greatly enjoyed the company of informal people. He liked to hear the boys of the Tenth Ward, pointing him out as he passed, say, "There's the Bish.!" And if they found it in their hearts to add, as one of them did, "he aint no chump," he prized the homely compliment above all the eulogies of eloquent toastmasters at splendid banquets. He liked the simple fashions of the country.

The country clergy knew him best. He breakfasted and dined and supped with them, and spent the night. There is, indeed, a legend of a country parson who explained that the three strokes sounded on his church bell while the bishop said the benediction were intended partly as a sign to the people in their homes to share in the blessing, but partly also as a warning to the cook in the kitchen of the rectory to serve the dinner without delay because the bishop was always in a hurry. But in the latter days, when the rural

parishes were his particular charge, and there was not so much reason for haste, he came and stayed.

It was his custom, as he was being driven over from the station, to refresh his memory about the parish. He talked with the driver, and asked him questions. He recalled the names of the principal people. He made himself acquainted with the local situation. By the time of his arrival at his destination he knew nearly everything of importance which had happened in the place during the past twelve months. Thus he was able to connect both his sermon and his conversation with the parish life.

To the country parson he was both friend and father. The joy and inspiration of his visit lasted till he came again. He listened with patience and interest to accounts of difficulties and discouragements, of hopes and plans, and gave counsel and suggestion. He brought comfort in trouble. His presence was a benediction. He was the pastor of the pastors and their families. The gracious and considerate and friendly things which he did were innumerable.

"After my ordination to the diaconate," says one of his clergy, "the hotel in which I was boarding was destroyed by fire. I immediately wrote to the Bishop to ask him to send me a duplicate Letter of Orders. He replied, "Most gladly will I send you the desired duplicate. If your books were destroyed, please order fifty dollars' worth of Mr. Thomas Whittaker, and have them charged to me."

"Your sermon of yesterday," he wrote to another, "was a great treat to all of us, and I wish I could adequately express to you with what delight and refreshment I listened to it. No one else could have done it so well as yourself, and you could not have done it better."

"I remember," says Dr. Booker Washington, "how he looked over his program for the evening. He had already two engagements, but he said to me, 'If the meeting lasts long enough I will appear upon the platform.'" And so he did, at half-past ten.

Mrs. Crary describes an early confirmation service. "A young naval officer, a lieutenant, who had served in Admiral Dewey's fleet at Manila (and is now himself an admiral) came to Poughkeepsie on the return of the fleet, and received holy baptism at the hands of Dr. Crary. Some time after baptism, he was off again for duty for a long time. One day, Dr. Crary received a letter from him saying that his vessel would be in port for only a short time, and could he be confirmed? and when? Dr. Crary wrote to the Bishop, who replied that he was about to leave Lake Placid, and would get off the train at Poughkeepsie, and have the confirmation service at the Church of the Holy Comforter at 7:30 on a certain day. This he did, and the young naval officer, and three others who were waiting for confirmation, received the holy rite, in the bright sunshine of a summer morning."

The Rev. James E. Freeman remembers how "at the close of a long and exacting service, after administering confirmation to a large class, he had retired to the vestry room and was removing his episcopal robes when report was brought to him that a child had just reached the church, who had been detained by the storm, and thus had failed to receive confirmation at his hands. Without a word of demur, although pressed for time, he immediately returned to the chancel, and there in the presence of a few who had lingered, he followed the prescribed office of confirmation in all its parts, and administered the solemn rite to the kneeling girl. Upon pronouncing the benediction, he bent low, and lifting the little figure, kissed the upturned face."

"On one occasion," says the Rev. Thornton F. Turner, "I took him in his vestments in a carriage to the house of a cripple. It was a two-room rear-tenement. I remember particularly the pleasure he seemed to take in it, his gracious manner to the poor woman whom he confirmed, and his speaking of it to some one, in my presence, as having been a source of gratification to him."

"An old bedridden woman who had come to our notice

at St. John's Chapel, New York, where I was at that time a curate," says the Rev. Edgar H. Goold, "had expressed an earnest desire to be confirmed. Bishop Potter was informed of her wish, and replied by saying that he would confirm her privately on the evening of his visit to St. John's. The woman herself, some seventy odd years old, and living alone in a little basement room in Varick street, could hardly believe it possible that a bishop would have a special confirmation for her." But he came. It was at the very end of his life, the next to the last of his confirmations. "His dignified, kindly courtesy put the old woman at her ease at once. There in the dimly lighted tenement the Bishop confirmed her as she lay on her sick bed, with no one but a friend and myself to witness it, and even then the room seemed crowded!"

This consideration the Bishop extended not only to individuals but to groups and classes who seemed to him neglected or ill-treated. He deserved the title which Miss Keyser gave him in her excellent little book, "Bishop Potter, the People's Friend."

He was concerned about the long hours of the New York firemen, and wrote to the mayor in approval of a bill to shorten them. "My dear Mr. Mayor," he said, "As you know, I am no friend of the privileged classes, and it is easy to make such of persons in civic employ. But efficiency is not obtained by cheapness, by overwork, or by empty praise. The Fire Department has had a great deal of the latter. Is it not time to give it some more substantial recognition? It is to-day the only department of public service in which we are wont to look for heroic and self-forgetful action. May it not be wisely rewarded and encouraged by making that service somewhat less severe and exhausting?"

About the same time he was appealed to in a letter signed "A Christian Policeman," to write to the mayor regarding a proposed change in the order of police duty. "Knowing your feelings were ever for the uplifting of all classes of

people, and particularly working classes, I take this opportunity of appealing to you to see if you could be interested in protecting the Police Officers in keeping their system of work, known as the 'three platoon system,' and if favorable to you to use your influence with the mayor to see it in the light which I am sure you would."

Writing to Miss Keyser (April 9, 1904), he said: "I wish to express my profound sympathy with the movement for vestibules for New York street cars. The front platforms of cars should be reserved exclusively for motormen, and motormen should be protected, in the discharge of their duties, from exposures which have in them very strong provocation to intemperance, as well as very grave peril to life. I hope the expression of the Association will be vigorous, as well as temperate."

He was actively interested in the Actors Church Alliance, of which he was the first president, with the Rev. Walter E. Bentley as secretary. The society was organized for the purpose of securing Sunday rest for actors. In a letter to the Rev. F. J. C. Moran, chairman of the law committee of the Alliance (November 7, 1907) he said, "The other evening I had some conversation with the Honorable Seth Low, and, if I understand him aright, he concurred in thinking that the time had come when there might wisely be some informal and unreserved consultation on the part of those representing the stage, the stage carpenter, and the like, and the public and the law.

"It is idle to ignore the fact that we are confronted with a situation with which the law is altogether inconsistent. As I hardly need say to you, I am in hearty sympathy with those of the dramatic profession who desire to preserve Sunday as a day of rest; but, if you read the very interesting and varied group of opinions published in the New York *Times* of a few Sundays ago, you must have seen that there are other aspects to the Sunday question, in connection with Sunday amusements, than theirs. In other words, there are large numbers of persons so employed that no



Members of a board of arbitration which settled questions between employers and employees in the marble industry, May, 1895. From left to right. Seated: A. J. Robinson, Otto M. Eidlitz, Bishop Potter, R. J. Anslow. Standing: George K. Lloyd, Charles T. Wills, Thomas Downs.

half-holiday on Saturday is possible for them, and Sunday, if they are to have any recreation, must include some such recreation as well as provision for worship. When, besides, you remember the vast number of people, in New York and elsewhere, who are not Christians at all, even nominally, you can realize, I think, that the fight to observe Sunday in accordance with ancestral conditions is destined, inevitably, to be a losing fight.

"Under these circumstances, would it not be well to ask the Governor of the State to appoint a commission to whom the whole question of Sunday laws might be referred, with the idea that they should recommend such legislation as might be necessary to protect the Rest Day, whether of actors or others; and to secure what our American Sunday already gives us.

"The whole question is a very large and intricate one; and it is quite idle to suppose that we can dispose of it by coercing a particular judge to give a particular decision, because it happens to be inconsistent with the terms of a present law."

The Bishop's Triennial Charge in 1905 had dealt with the observance of the Lord's Day. Nobody cared more than he for the maintenance of those "ancestral conditions" of which he spoke in his letter. "Take care," he said in his Charge, "that Sunday is unlike any other day. If you wish to understand what I mean — for in this matter there is need of plain speaking — go with me some Saturday afternoon to the Grand Central Depot, and see the people who are going into the country to spend Sunday! They are on their way to a country-house, which they will find full of gay people, but not one of whom on Sunday will cross the threshold of a Church. They will, when Sunday comes, lounge in bed, or stroll out to the golf-links, or play bridge in the library. My brother, my sister, who art host or hostess for such a group, I entreat you to redeem your home for godlier usages."

"Remember," he added, "that you have a soul. Al-

most all the aggressive forces of our modern life conspire to help you to forget it. When every secular want has been satisfied and every temporal triumph achieved, there still remains that insistent and undying hunger of the soul which Jesus Christ can alone satisfy, and for which He built His house, and ordained His sacraments, and appointed His day, to provide."

At the same time the Bishop took into account the actual confronting conditions. "It is very easy for my Puritan brother, whose conception of Sunday is at once sharp and precise, to insist upon recovering the Sunday, let us say, of our New England forefathers, and, to that end, to demand that legislation shall so safeguard one day in the week that it shall neither be profaned by traffic nor disfigured by pleasure; and no sane man, however much he may be disposed to resent Sunday laws which invade, as he affirms, his rightful freedom of action, no sane man, I say, can be insensible to the necessity of legislation which protects the workingman from undue exactions, and safeguards some hours for repose and meditation. But the difficulty with us to-day is in securing some general concurrence as to the hours to be thus segregated, and the ends for which they shall be guarded. Once, and that not so long ago, we were a tolerably homogeneous people, and we, who believed strongly as to the duty and necessity of safeguarding Sunday, could say to the foreigners — I have said so myself in a sermon published some thirty years ago — 'If you don't like our Sunday traditions, you can stay away where they will not irk you. We mean to maintain them as we have inherited them.'" This position, he said, was no longer possible.

"If the American citizen is to rescue his Rest Day, in any sense, he must recognize elements in the situation which are absolutely new, and which will demand, at any rate, first of all, some such unification of effort as does not now anywhere exist in this land. Of course, if we are determined to refuse to recognize facts as they are, if we

are wedded to endeavors to reproduce the Sunday of our Puritan ancestry, we can expend our strength in a spectacular performance which will be as pathetic as it is impotent; and, most of all, we can conspire with Sabbath Committees and other organizations which shall labor to produce a legislation the final effort of which will be simply to contribute one more illustration of our American passion for enacting laws destined to be treated only with contempt."

This statement was by no means aggreeable to the "Sabbath Committees." It contradicted the practice of Puritan prohibition. It declared that reform and law must be based on actual human facts, and that legislation which cannot be enforced serves only to tempt the people into hypocrisy and the police to tyranny. He had already said the same thing in regard to the "Excise Law and Sunday Closing." The newspapers, reporting an address of his before the Church Club of New York (December, 1901) headlined the sentence, "Prohibition is a fraud and a failure"; but the heart of the speaker's meaning was in the sentence which immediately followed: "Education, elevation and transformation are the notes which the Church must learn to strike." He was opposed to mere negation. He felt that whether the matter in hand was the protection of Sunday or the prevention of the saloon, no merely destructive measures would suffice. Behind the evils were great, permanent, and wholesome facts of human nature which must be discovered and taken into account, and to which the reformer must minister. He saw no moral progress in repression without construction. He had no faith in a leadership whose sole formula was "Thou shalt not."

Thus he said to the Church Club: "Here in New York we are going to screw up all the saloon doors on Sunday just as we have been doing; we are going to raise a race of hypocrites, just as we have been doing; we are going to furnish to the police an opportunity for blackmail, just as we have always done. No note, as far as I have heard from

the people who represent this policy, has been uttered yet in favor of any other policy. Yet there are other policies which would be worthy of a great people and a great problem. There is one in England, where capitalists have undertaken to acquire the properties representing the sale of liquor. Suppose that as much brains and as much time had been put into the acquisition of breweries on this island as has been put into the equipment of other great properties. Suppose that a group of young men should undertake to do precisely what they are doing in England — that is to say, acquire every place that manufactures and sells liquor and transform it into something that may afford not merely a wholesome and moral reform, but a wholesome and innocent recreation, a wholesome and social intercourse. Suppose that having inaugurated such a system as this, a community such as ours should try to understand the relations of customs peculiar to different classes of people to their domestic life, of which great multitudes of us are entirely ignorant. Suppose still further that we should try to understand something of the science which stands behind the whole drink question, and deal honestly with these facts, which the temperance reformer has never done."

Bishop Potter had long endeavored to understand the situation and to deal with the facts honestly. He had inherited from his father a strong interest in temperance reform, which his residence in the Tenth Ward had greatly confirmed. Always abstemious in his personal habits, he had at one time practised total abstinence for a number of years in order to encourage and continue the reformation of a man whom he was trying to save from the temptation of drink. There was wine on his table on the occasion of formal dinners, and he found it under like conditions in the houses of his friends. It was a detail of the conventional life. Sometimes he tasted it; often not. The presence or the absence of it mattered not to him. He had no understanding of the dialect of vintages. He was greatly concerned, however, about the evils of intemper-

ance. In 1889, fifteen gentlemen, interested in social questions, began to meet for the purpose of presenting papers of their own composition for the criticism of their associates, and afterwards publishing them in the *Century Magazine* and the *Forum*. In 1893, the number was enlarged, and the group began to be known as the Committee of Fifty. Bishop Potter, who had belonged to the smaller group, continued his membership in the larger. The distinguished company included Felix Adler, James C. Carter, W. Bayard Cutting, William E. Dodge, W. R. Huntington, Seth Low, John Graham Brooks, Charles W. Eliot, Francis G. Peabody, Theodore T. Munger, Charles Dudley Warner, Carroll D. Wright, Washington Gladden. They applied themselves to a study of the drink problem, and in 1897 published a book on its legislative aspects.

In the course of these studies Bishop Potter examined into the workings of the Public House Trust Company, under the presidency of Earl Grey. It was to this that he referred in the series of suppositions contained in his Church Club address. The Company were engaged in part, in the endeavor "to arrange that every new license in their respective counties shall, wherever possible, be brought under the management of those who have no interest whatsoever in promoting the consumption of alcoholic liquors." They were engaged, also, in managing the saloons which came thus under their influence in such a manner as to diminish their bad effects, and to make them places where men and their families might meet for decent recreation.

In these undertakings the Company were successful. Their reports contained detailed accounts of converted saloons. Thus, of an inn in the north of England, they said: "It was formerly a public house of the lowest sort, frequented by disreputable women and roughs; it is now a clean and respectable house, doing a fair refreshment and non-alcoholic trade in addition to beer and spirits. Its outside appearance is clean and bright, and inside notices of cheap tea and refreshments are well to the fore." And

of the Kelty Inn in Fifeshire; "The first thing I noticed on entering the village was the splendid bowling-green built out of the profits of the public house. It is a well-planned, well-kept house, frequented by the better class of pitman. There are four other public houses in Kelty. They have all levelled up as to quality and conduct since the trust house opened." And like reports were given of a dozen other places. It looked like a good plan, attested by experience.

The Bishop had long accounted the conversion of the saloon impossible. Writing to Dr. Rainsford in 1895, he had said, "Forgive me if I say frankly — your dream of the regeneration or transformation of the saloon is the wildest dream that was ever dreamed. I once thought they might be somehow redeemed and ennobled, but I have surrendered that illusion as a 'wild imagining.' There is one path before us in the future, and that is to destroy this agency of the devil, that will otherwise destroy us."

When, however, W. Bayard Cutting, and R. Fulton Cutting, and Herbert E. Parsons and E. R. L. Gould proposed to stand behind Joseph Johnson, Jr., in trying a part of Earl Grey's plan in New York, Bishop Potter was interested, as he was in every endeavor to do good. When they asked him to come over from Cooperstown, on August 2d, 1904, and say a word at the opening of the Subway Tavern, he consented. He briefly addressed the assembled company of philanthropists and curious neighbors.

"Mr. Blaustein," he said, "has told us of a section of the city on the east side where there are few saloons. It contains as many people as Syracuse or Buffalo, and yet you may walk a long way in it without seeing a saloon. This is because they have that which takes the place of the saloon — the café or tavern, where a man can take the members of his family.

"We have a great community of homes here, a multitude of people who work hard and live in small rooms. Where shall they go for recreation in the evening after their work

is done? You and I may go to our clubs, but their club is the saloon. This is the situation, whether we like it or not. The saloon is the poor man's place of resort and recreation. Shall we hesitate to make it better, if we can? Shall we not rather encourage every honest experiment which looks in that direction?"

Then the people crowded up to shake hands with the Bishop. An enthusiastic young woman sat down at the piano and played the long-metre doxology, and business began to be transacted at the bar.

For a time the business at the bar was good. Mr. Johnson wrote presently to the Bishop: "We have about two hundred working men from the neighborhood here every day at noon. Three saloons that were doing business on our block when we started have quit. That is rather interesting, is it not?" It looked as if Earl Grey's plan might be as successful in America as in England.

The enterprise was generously advertised. A considerable number of religious journals gave a good deal of space to it for several weeks, — mostly by way of abuse. Many professional temperance reformers spoke of it intemperately. Sam Jones, a humorous revivalist, and Carrie Nation, who was occupied in reforming saloons with an axe, jested upon it. The doxology was a cause of particular scandal to many sensitive women, and even strong men were grieved at it. It was commonly taken for granted that Bishop Potter, instead of being only a friendly visitor, was the inventor of the Subway Tavern, the chairman of the Corporation, a heavy investor in the stock (which was expected to yield a dividend of five per cent), and in general the party of the first part in a contract in which the party of the second part was the devil. Some of the more earnest adversaries told their horrified friends that the bishop had brought back an invoice of hard liquors with him from his last voyage, and these friends told other friends that he had tried, but without success, to evade the payment of the customs duties! Nothing was too bad, or too false.

Even so, the experiment was a failure. In August, 1905, Mr. Johnson wrote to the Bishop, "I am enclosing a statement given to the press to-day which explains itself. I regret more than I can say that your good offices and sacrifices in this connection have been thus unavailing. All of us are deeply grateful to you.

"Everything possible was done for the experiment. The deficit lately has been as high as $100 a week, which made it impracticable to continue. Several thousand dollars above the subscribed capital stock were thrown into the breach without avail.

"I fear that a single place of this kind cannot succeed. It will require a very large capital, like Earl Grey's company, in order to make any headway. As I have pointed out, the utter disregard of the moral and statute law on the part of our competitors makes a solitary effort like the Subway Tavern inevitably futile."

In the notice given to the newspapers it was stated that Bishop Potter had had neither financial nor directive connection with the matter. As a matter of fact, his only connection with it was his encouraging word and presence at the beginning of the experiment.

As for the Bishop, he took the vituperation of his temperance friends with his usual serenity, making no public comment, accounting the whole matter as a part of his day's work. He had long ago learned by experience that social experiments, no matter how well intended, are commonly carried on under more or less stone-throwing from the by-standers.

A footnote to this little episode is furnished by Bishop Darlington of Harrisburg. At a meeting of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania in January, 1907, there was a debate on local option, and a good deal of strong feeling was shown on either side. The Bishop and his brother ministers of all denominations were working with the temperance reformers to secure the passage of the new law. A representative from Philadelphia, who showed his foreign

birth by his broken English, defended the liquor interests, and quoted against the Bishop of Harrisburg the liberal position of the Bishop of New York, "who," he said, "believed that every poor man should have his beer and whiskey." He declared that Bishop Potter would never vote for such a sumptuary law as local option. Another representative, however, telegraphed to Bishop Potter and asked him to reply, stating his opinion. After the liquor speeches were all delivered, this representative came to the front and read to the joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and to the crowded galleries, the ten-word telegram which he had just received: "Local option is fair, square and American. Pass the bill. Henry C. Potter." The applause lasted several minutes, and the bill was passed.

When the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor was organized, Dr. DaCosta, who was made chairman, set the note of the work by reading Bishop Potter's Pastoral Letter of 1886 on the industrial situation. "A nation," said the Bishop, "whose wealth and social leadership are in the hands of people who fancy that day by day, like those of old, they can 'sit down to eat and drink and rise up to play,' careless of those who earn the dividends that they spend and pay the rents of the tenement houses, that they own, but too often never visit nor inspect, has but one doom before it, and that the worst." "I beg you, reverend brethren," he continued, "to set these things before your people with great plainness of speech. In New York centres the capital that controls the traffic, and largely the manufactures, of this new world. In your congregations are many of those who control that capital. In all our parishes are people who employ labor, or reap the benefits of it. To these it is time to say that no Christian man can innocently be indifferent to the interests of working men and women; that wealth brings with it a definite responsibility, first, to know how best to use it to serve others as ourselves, and then, resolutely to set about

doing it; that luxury has its decent limits, and that we in this land are in many directions in danger of overstepping those limits; that class-churches and class-distinctions of kindred kinds have nearly destroyed in the hearts of many of the poor all faith in the genuineness of a religion whose Founder declared 'All ye are brethren,' but whose disciples more often seem by their acts to say, 'Stand thou there,' 'Trouble me not,' when their brethren remind them not merely of their manifold needs but of their just rights."

Organized in this spirit, the Association proceeded to study the social situation and to contribute, according to its opportunity, to the betterment of it. After some years, Bishop Potter, who had counselled it from the beginning, became its president. He spoke often at its meetings, and directed many of its undertakings. "I hope," he wrote in a letter, "that the clergy will endeavor to understand both sides, and will be brave enough to resist the temptation to win popular applause by ignoring the fact that in attempting to harmonize the conflicting claims of labor and capital, it must first be recognized that there are faults and evils on both sides. There is a French proverb which says, 'The absent are always wrong,' and the tendency of popular meetings in the interest of particular classes is to misstate or overstate the case."

These were the principles upon which he himself proceeded. In 1893, the Association organized a committee of mediation and conciliation. The members represented labor, capital and the public. Bishop Potter was chairman. They sent out a circular letter to employers and labor unions, offering their services. The offer was again and again accepted. The Painters and Decorators Union settled a difference by their means. They stopped a series of "cut-throat strikes" between Electrical Workers Union No. 3, and Electrical Workers Union No. 5. They successfully arbitrated a difficulty about the rate of wages in the marble trade of New York; both sides met night after night at the Bishop's house. They decided a grave dispute

between the men and the masters in the lithographic industry, the employers and the employees agreeing to leave the whole matter to Bishop Potter. "I remember," says Dr. Van Allen, "one night in Cooper Union when a vast audience cheered at the name of Henry C. Potter, realizing, perhaps for the first time, what he really was to them."

In 1900, the National Civic Federation was established, "to provide for study and discussion of questions of national import, affecting either the foreign or domestic policy of the United States, to aid in the crystallization of the most enlightened public sentiment of the country in respect thereto, and, when desirable, to promote necessary legislation in accordance therewith." Capital, labor and the public were represented in the membership of the Federation. Bishop Potter was among those chosen in behalf of the public, and was an active member of the Committee on Conciliation and Mediation.

The General Convention of 1901 appointed a Joint Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, "first, to study carefully the aims and purposes of the labor organizations of our country; second, in particular, to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances, as these may arise; and third, to hold themselves in readiness to act as arbitrators, should their services be desired, between the men and their employers, with a view to bring about mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace." The suggestion came from Dr. McKim of Washington, who further suggested that Bishop Potter should be the chairman. The Commission reported to the Convention of 1904, and the Pastoral letter of the House of Bishops for that year, written by Bishop Potter, dealt at length with the industrial situation. At the General Convention of 1907, action was taken, under Bishop Potter's influence, for the formation of local Social Service Committees in the various dioceses of the Church.

He was the people's bishop. His supreme concern, in public and in private, was to bring the rich and the poor

into vital and fraternal relationship. His ideal of the Church, as he expressed it in precept and in his own example, was conceived in terms of social sympathy and helpfulness. He believed in a ministering Church. He saw in its history the gradual fulfilment of "a divine purpose, beating down the barriers that divide man from man, and race from race, and hastening the time when the Fatherhood of God shall mean no less than the Brotherhood of all His children."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FINISHED COURSE

1908

THE Bishop went abroad in 1905, after the meeting of the Diocesan Convention. In October, in Scotland, at the University of St. Andrews', he made an address and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In York and in Canterbury he preached sermons.

A representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* found him in London, at St. James's, Hamstead-road, and noticed the careful clearness of his enunciation, and his quiet, conversational appeal to the attention of every auditor. "Even the smallest child in the gallery could understand every word." "Both in feature and in bearing," said the *Daily Chronicle*, "he reminds one curiously of our own Lord Chief Justice." To the *Christian Commonwealth* his personal appearance recalled Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, and the dignified and gracious prelates of the mid-Victorian period.

These observers perceived in him the indefinable quality of distinction. He had what is called "presence." In any company, however notable, he was a marked person. Strangers who did not know his name pointed him out one to another as a man of evident position and importance. He fulfilled in this regard Emerson's description of the great man, whose greatness we recognize, without waiting to hear him speak or act, by his appearance. "With all his patience and kindness and sympathy," says one who knew him intimately, "no one could be — and probably no one ever thought of being — unduly familiar with him. At the same time there was that about him which invited approach.

Even the humblest persons came to him confident of his kindness, and were received by him with friendly interest, without condescension, and without suggestion of weariness." This was due in part to a constant love of his neighbor, which was both natural and Christian; and in part to a constant conquest of himself which kept him humble-minded and sympathetic. "He was a man of strong nature, strong will, strong and quick temper," says the intimate friend already quoted, "and he fought and conquered himself every day of his life." Thus his personality, instead of overpowering those who came in contact with him, stimulated them. They desired to do their best, not so much because he wished it as because he inspired it.

The Rev. Hugh J. Chapman, of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, recalls a talk which he had with the Bishop at this time. "I had been prepared," he says, "to find him 'one of the foremost citizens of America,' as described to me by a leading prelate on this side, nor did my experience fall short of the treat to which I looked forward. The strongest impression which remains with me of our deeply interesting conversation is the realism and intense simplicity of the Bishop, who counted the heart as the most effective and lasting factor in religion. In spite of the position which he occupied, he appeared to regard both money and office as incidental and even hindrances to the manifestation of the Cross which was to him the key of the situation. I recall how he spoke of the poor with special affection, and found in their courage and mutual kindness more of the true gospel than was to be met with in the ecclesiastically minded, or in carefully planned institutions however well provided with funds. He held that systems are valuable only as far as they express the spirit of love, which is the heart of the whole matter."

From London the Bishop went to Paris. December, January and a part of February he spent in Egypt. In March he was in charge of St. Paul's Church, in Rome. Holy Week and Easter he spent in Dresden.

The Annual Address of 1906 made reference again to the position of men in holy orders who find themselves in perplexity as to the faith of the church. The Bishop quoted from his Pastoral Letter. "If one finds, whatever his place or office in the church, that he has lost hold upon her fundamental verities, then, in the name of common honesty, let him be silent or withdraw." This, he explained, however, was to be applied not to temporary but to permanent doubt. Even so, "there are beliefs which are, so to speak, *in suspensu*, and others concerning which various opinions may be held, and have obtained, in all ages of the church." The faith which is formulated in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds he held to be fundamental. In the field thus covered he who would free the church from error must do so from without, not from within.

"It is impossible," said the Bishop, "in the minds of people who hold fast to the principles of common honesty, to respect either the consistency or the integrity of one who eats the church's bread, accepts the church's dignities, enjoys the church's honors, and impugns the church's faith. If he must assail her beliefs, then the dictate of ordinary uprightness would plainly seem to be that he must, first of all, withdraw from a fellowship to whose fundamental beliefs he cannot candidly assent."

This somewhat peremptory dealing with a delicate problem offended the friends of one clergyman who was at that moment under accusation of heresy, and troubled others who resented the implication that "the church's bread" may be rightly eaten only by those who are satisfied with the existing church. It seemed to them that the best allegiance to the church requires such faithful treatment of discovered error as shall keep the creed consistent with the truth. They remembered how St. Stephen stayed in the church till he was driven out with stones, and how St. Athanasius accepted the church's dignities and enjoyed the church's honors while he impugned with all his might that which several synods of bishops declared to be the church's faith.

In the Annual Address of 1907 he reversed the position which he had held in 1889 concerning the Provincial System. He was glad that the last General Convention had failed to adopt it. "One need not be indifferent or insensible," he said, "to the advantages of such a system to recognize its possible mischiefs. But they are precisely those which threaten the Republic; and, for the same reason, are to be dreaded and shunned. Our common peril in this land is from the growth of sectionalism, and the Provincial System, whatever incidental conveniences it might bring with it, menaced our ecclesiastical unity, and was destined inevitably to isolate 'localism' in the Church and to emphasize local idiosyncrasies. No emergency has as yet arisen demanding such a form of relief from present inconvenience, and no prospect of relief from possible inconveniences in the future could at all warrant the introduction of such cumbrous, pretentious and disintegrating machinery."

The Address, however, touched the familiar notes of social righteousness and the essential importance of the spiritual life with unabated strength. It concluded with words which, as the event proved, were the last which he was to speak to his clergy and people in convention assembled: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the Word of His grace. May you be built up in His most holy faith and fear, and finally have vouchsafed to you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified."

He went about, as usual, speaking and preaching, though occasionally the brevity of a lecture surprised and disappointed an audience. He presided, week by week, over public assemblies and at meetings of boards of trustees. He made his customary visitations to the country parishes. In Carnegie Hall in January, 1908, he was the moderator of a meeting in the interests of constitutional government in Russia. He spoke in the hall of the Horticultural Society in Brooklyn, and before the Young Men's Christian Association in West Twenty-Third Street. In February, he counselled the Woman's Press Club, delivered an address

at Cooper Union, and spoke in the Metropolitan Temple. In March, he was heard by the alumni of the University of Michigan, by the churchmen of Columbia University, and by the West Side Ministers' Association. In April, he presided at a meeting of the Social Service Committee. He preached on Easter Day, according to his long-established custom, at the Church of the Epiphany. This was his last sermon.

On May 15, he sent a letter to each of the clergy of the diocese: "His Grace the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury has summoned the Lambeth Conference for 1908 to convene at Canterbury on Saturday, July 4th, and it had been my purpose to sail from this port on June 4th to obey that summons; but a sharp illness, from which I am slowly recovering, has left me, my physicians think, with scarcely sufficient strength for this voyage, and I have abandoned it." He placed the diocese, during Bishop Greer's absence at the Conference, in the charge of Bishop Brooke of Oklahoma. "May God have you in His holy keeping, and vouchsafe His abundant blessing to yourself and your work, prays yours affectionately, Henry C. Potter."

Thus he took his leave, in the midst of his labors. On the cover of the blank-book in which he was keeping his official journal was found pasted a clipping from the *Missionary Review:* "It is told of Thomas à Kempis that once, during his student days, his teacher asked the class, 'What passage of Scripture conveys the sweetest description of heaven?' One answered, 'There shall be no more sorrow there;' another, 'There shall be no more death;' another, 'They shall see His face;' but Thomas, who was the youngest of all, said: 'And His servants shall serve Him.'"

As he lay ill in Cooperstown early in July, the village trustees directed that the Fourth should be celebrated without the usual accompaniments of noise, that he might not be disturbed. He died on the 21st, seventy-four years old.

"It has been a great source of happiness to me, as it

must have been to you," said a friend, writing to Mrs. Potter, "to see how generally the Bishop's life and character have been understood and appreciated. Such comments as I have seen in the press have been uniformly good and singularly just. We have all of us felt, more or less, while he was with us, how fine and large and genuine he was; but as we look back upon his work for both Church and State, we see clearly how unique a service he rendered to both." So said hundreds of affectionate letters and appreciative editorials.

During the funeral in Cooperstown all business was suspended, and the men of the village marched behind the coffin to the station. Bishop Greer returned from abroad in time for the public funeral (October 20th) in Grace Church, New York. The interment was in the Cathedral, before the altar in the crypt. The day of his burial was the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration.

"He was the Citizen-Bishop," said the committee of clergy appointed to prepare a memorial. "Human life appealed to him with irresistible force. Its problems and questions were of supreme concern. His interest was as far as possible from any thought of condescension or patronage. He did not force himself to show this interest. It was not the question of a duty to which he bowed himself, but rather the vital movement of his own nature. He was a man of the world in the best sense, and therefore touched the world with an ease and freedom, a sense of mastery and knowledge, a bright and eager interest in all its life, that made him above all else the citizen. He was the citizen before he became the ecclesiastic. He was the Citizen-Bishop."

The Memorial quoted from what was said of him by Dr. Battershall: "He had insight, forecast, tact, knowledge of men, genial touch of men, sympathy with his period, with American methods and ideals. He was keen to catch the human appeal from all sorts and conditions of men. He had that audacity, faith, courage, and faculty for organization,

that give leadership. In all his word and deed he showed his profound sense of the divine mission of the Church in a world that is perpetually confronting it with new issues and supplying it with new implements. Simply and strongly he carried his manhood into his office. He was better than faultless; he was human; every inch a bishop, with an old-time courtliness, *noblesse oblige* and spiritual fatherhood; every inch a man, with the loyalties and loves of an honest, deep-hearted man."

The Committee continued, expressing themselves in the words of their chairman, Dr. Huntington: 'It is much to any diocese to have had a leader who so thoroughly knew his age, and who above all believed that the greatest thing that his clergy can do is also to know their age, and to serve it in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

"Prayer was to him the deepest reality of his life. No one who ever heard him offer prayer without book or page, as he so often did, will ever forget the perfect form, and the searching, simple words that fell from his lips. As he said of another great bishop, so of him may we say, that 'up out of the narrower round in which he faithfully walked, from time to time he climbed, and came back bathed in a heavenly light.'"

The Memorial concluded, — and this story of his life can have no more fit conclusion — "Unto the almighty and ever-living God we yield most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all His saints, who have been the chosen vessels of His grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations; but here and to-day especially for His servant, Henry Codman Potter, true prophet, true priest, true bishop, to the glory of God the Father."

INDEX

Amory, James S., letter to, 83.
Anathema within limits, 294.
Archdeaconries, 210.

Baptist, letter to, 217, 218.
Batten, Dr., letter to, 353–355.
Battershall, Dr., quoted, 380.
Benedict, Sarah, 13, 14; Sarah Maria, 8, 9.
Bishopric, of Central Pennsylvania, 81, 82; of Massachusetts, 83–85: of Iowa, 92.
Brent, Bp., 325.
Briggs, Dr., ordination of, 301–312.
Brooks, Phillips, 26, 27, 32, 61, 67, 260, 261.
Buel, Dr., 135, 143, 144.
Bull Run, commemoration of, 288.

Cambridge University, confers degree, 222; select preacher at, 292.
Carey, Joseph, correspondence with, 257–259.
Cathedral, sermon on, 198; letter about, 199–203; comments on, 204–206; site chosen, 206; cornerstone laid, 273, 274; Easter gift for, 290, 291; progress, 298.
Century Club, 268.
Chapman, Hugh J., 376.
Church Congress, beginning of, 90–92; at Minneapolis, 315.
Churchmanship, comprehensive, 20, 218.
Clark, Bp., 237.
Clark, Mrs. Alfred Corning, 353.
Clendenin, F. W., 304, 305.
Cleveland, Grover, 238.
Clubs, 268.
Cooperstown, 379.
Council, Federate, 213–215.
Coxe, Bp., 82, 181, 240.
Crary, Dr., 360.
Creeds, revision of, 118, 119.
Croker, Richard, 323.
Crosby, Howard, 338.
Cutting, R. Fulton, letter to, 269–272.

Da Costa, B. F., presents Dr. Newton, 135, 142, 143; presents Dr. Briggs, 305–307; 312, 371.
Darlington, Bp., 370.
Deaconesses, 76–79.
Denys, F. Ward, 282.
Depew, Chauncey, 225, 234.
Dix, Morgan, 124, 125.
Doane, Bp., 274.
Doggett, Dr., 56.
Donald, Dr., 311.
Douglas, G. W., 317.
Ducey, Fr., 283, 284.

"East of To-day and To-morrow," The, 323.
Eastburn, Bp., 61, 62.
Eastside House, 277.
Eggleston, Edward, 235.
Egypt, condition of, in 1875, 97.
Episcopal Academy, 21.

Faith and order, 251–255.
Field, Henry M., 295.
Fisher, Professor, 311.
Freeman, James E., 360.

"Gates of the East," 95–100.
Geer, Mrs. Katherine C., letter to, 164, 165.
Gettysburg, after battle of, 45; dedication of monument at, 288.
Gilder, Richard Watson, letter to, 277.
Goddard, R. H. I., letter to, 261.
Godkin, E. L., 235.
Goold, Edgar H., 361.
Gorton, Samuel, 3, 4.
Grace Chapel, 93, 94, 100, 101; dedication of, 290.
Grace House, 74, 81, 101, 110, 111; by-the-Sea, 109.
Grafton, Dr., 213, 214.
Grant, Percy Stickney, 314, 315, 323.
Greene Foundation, 60, 61.
Greensburg, ministry in, 34–41.
Greer, Bp., 356, 357.
Grosvenor, William Mercer, 352, 356.

Hare, George Emlen, 21.
Harrison, Hall, 311.
Hawaiian Islands, 316–319.
Hearst, W. R., letter to, 340–342.
Holland, Dr., 307, 311.

Holy Cross, Order of, 146–165.
Huntington, Bp., 129, 310, 311.
Huntington, Fr., 146–149, 162, 163.
Huntington, William Reed, 121, 306, 310, 377, 381.

Intemperance, study of, 367.
Iowa, bishopric of, 92.

Jacobs, Eliza Rogers (Mrs. Potter), 23, 38, 39, 339, 340.
Jacobs, Mrs. Clara, 23.
Johnson, Joseph, Jr., 368, 369, 370.
Junior Century Club, 111.

Kane Lodge, 286.
Keyser, Miss, 361, 362.

Labor and capital, 373.
Labor, advancement of interest of, 371.
Lambeth Conference, 292.
"Law and Loyalty," 260.
Lectures, Bedell, 343; Dodge, 343–348.
Lee, Bp., his Holy Cross letters, 150–158.
Lewis, John Vaughan, 141.
Low, Seth, 271, 362.
Lowell, James Russell, 235.
Lowell, R. T. S., 14, 15.

Mackay-Smith, Bp., sermon at consecration of, 349, 350.
MacQueary, Howard, 249, 250, 252.
MacVeagh, Wayne, 236.
"Man, Men and their Masters," 343.
Marble workers, strike of, 289.
Mason, Robert M., 83.
Masonry, 269.
Massachusetts, bishopric of, 83–85.
May, Dr., 28.
Meath, Countess of, 243.
Mediation and conciliation, 372.
Mills Hotel, address at opening of, 293.
Mission, the Advent, 182–191.
Mont Alto, 31.
Moran, F. J. C., letter to, 362, 363.
Morton, Levi P., 81.
Muhlenburg, Dr., 33, 35, 76.
Myrick, H. L., letter to, 275, 276.

Nativity, Church of, 119.
Nelson, George F., quoted, 73, 218, 220.
Newton, R. Heber, 135–145, 160.
Nicholson, Bp., 307.
Norton, Charles Eliot, 234.
Nott, the Connecticut family, 7, 8; Eliphalet, 8, 9; Sarah Maria, 10, 13.

Ohio Society, speech at dinner of, 294.
Oxford University confers degree, 263.

Packard, Dr., 28, 129.
Paddock, Bp., 85.
Paddock, Robert L., 326, 327.
Palestine, impressions of, 97, 100.
Pastoral Letter of Six Bishops, 263–268.
Pavillon, Nicholas, 241.
Peck, John Hudson, quoted, 44, 47, 52, 53.
Pennsylvania, Central, bishopric of, 81, 82; University of, degree, 342.
Phelps, Edward J., 237.
Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard, 244, 245.
Philippines, problem of, 313–325.
Pierce, C. C., 321, 322.
Pope, the, 296, 297.
Potter, Alonzo, 10, 11, 14, 15–18, 25, 26.
Potter, Henry Codman, Potter ancestors, 2–7; Nott ancestors, 7–9; birth, 11; brothers and sister, 13; in St. George's, Schenectady, 12; tutored by Mr. Lowell, 14; converted, 22, 24; engaged to be married, 23; at Virginia Seminary, 24–33; ordained deacon, 33; in Greensburg, 36–41; married, 38; ordained priest, 41; in Troy, 43–57; visits Gettysburg, 45; Thanksgiving sermon, 47; Secretary of House of Bishops, 58, 59; in Boston, 60–67; called to Grace Church, 66; organizing the parish, 71; habits of order, 73; "Sisterhoods and Deaconesses," 77–79; considered for bishop of Central Pennsylvania, 81; considered for bishop of Massachusetts, 83; discusses problems of charity, 86–89; relations to Church Congress, 90–92; elected bishop of Iowa, 92; "Gates of the East," 95–100; sermons on social service, 102–115; on American Sunday, 104, 105; completes ten years at Grace, 106; Grace House, 110; methods of sermon making, 115; close of rectorship, 120–122; elected bishop of New York, 124; consecrated bishop, 126–128; addresses to churchwomen, 131–133; case of Dr. Newton, 135–145; Order of Holy Cross, 146–165; case of Mr. Ritchie, 166–179; on ministerial support, 180, 181; on associate missions, 181, 182; pastoral on Advent Mission, 184, 185; reviews Advent Mission, 188–191; conducts retreats at Garrison, 192–194; in Europe, 195; preaches anniversary sermon in Lambeth Chapel, 195, 196; becomes sole bishop of New York, 197; letter concerning Cathedral, 199–203; organizes archdeaconries, 210; on

Federate Councils, 213, 214; letter about Dr. Grafton, 215, 216; letter to a Baptist, 217, 218; habits of work, 220, 221; at Lambeth Conference, 221; Cambridge degree, 222; sermon at Washington Centennial, 225–234; on the ideal bishop, 240–242; on rural reënforcement, 243, 244; Phi Beta Kappa orator at Harvard, 246, 247; "The Scholar and the State," 245–247; sermon on comprehensive churchmanship, 247–248; charge on faith and order, 249–255; correspondence with Dr. Carey, 256–259; sermon at consecration of Phillips Brooks, 260, 261; in Europe, 262; Oxford degree, 263; defends Pastoral of Six Bishops, 263–268; letter on New York politics, 269–272; lays cornerstone of Cathedral, 273, 274; gift from clergy, 274–276; residence in Stanton street, 278–285; membership in clubs, 286; Grand Chaplain in Masonry, 286, 287; representative position, 287; Gettysburg address, 287, 288; unveiling Martin Memorial tablet, 288; prayer at dedication of Washington Arch, 288, 289; umpire in marble workers' differences, 289; dedication of Grace Chapel, 290; a thousand Easter cards, 290, 291; at bicentenary of Trinity Church, 291; select Preacher at Cambridge, 292; address at opening of Mills Hotel, 293; after-dinner speaking, 294; on the Pope and Anglican orders, 296, 297; on subordination of religion, 298; on extemporaneous preaching, 299; on ritual, 299, 300; ordination of Dr. Briggs, 301–312; the problem of the Philippines, 314–315; in Honolulu, 316–319; in Manila, 319–323; "The East of To-day and To-morrow," 323; writes to Mayor Van Wyck, 328–331; an "ecclesiastical statesman," 324, 325; death of Mrs. Potter, 339, 340; letter to W. R. Hearst, 340–342; lectures at Kenyon College, 343; lectures at Yale, 343–348; preaches at consecration of Dr. Vinton, 349; preaches at consecration of Dr. Mackay-Smith, 349, 350; a page from the official diary, 350, 352; breaks down, and goes abroad, 352, 353; second marriage, 353; asks for episcopal relief, 353–355; election of Dr. Greer, 356, 357; in the country parishes, 358, 359; firemen and policemen, 361, 362; Actors' Church Alliance, 362; charge on Sunday observance, 363–365; studies problems of intemperance, 365–367; examines Public House Trust plans, 367, 368; speaks at opening of Subway Tavern, 368, 369; telegram on local option, 370, 371; interest in problems of labor, 371–373; personality, 375; Pastoral Letter on keeping the faith, 377; illness and death, 379; tribute of clergy, 380, 381.
Potter, Horatio, 123, 130, 197.
Potter, Israel, 5, 6.
Potter, Joseph, 1, 7.
Potter, Robert, 2–4.
Potter, brothers of H. C. P., 13, 117, 118.
Potter, from Robert to Joseph, 5–7.
Preaching, thoughts on, 65, 66; preparation for, 115; extemporaneous, 298, 299.
Provincial System, 378.
Public House Trust, 367, 368.

Rainsford, Dr., 368.
Restarick, Bp., 325.
Retreats, at Garrison, 191–194.
Richards, Charles A. L., quoted, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 53, 54, 159.
Richey, Dr., 167, 168.
Ritchie, Arthur, 166–179.
Ritual, test of, 299, 300.
Russia, Emperor of, 300.

"Scholar and the State," The, 254.
Schurz, Carl, 237.
Scott, Thomas A., 40.
Secretary, House of Bishops, 58–60.
Sermon-making, 115.
"Sermons of the City," 112–115.
Sisterhoods, 76–79.
"Sisterhoods and Deaconesses," 78.
Slavery, 20, 32, 48, 49.
Smith, Cornelius B., 307.
Smith, Bp., 128, 334.
Snively, T. A., 51.
Sparrow, Dr., 28.
Speeches, after-dinner, 294.
Springfield, bishop of, 174, 175, 176.
Stanton St. Mission, 279–285.
Stewart, Miss Sally, 30–31.
Subway Tavern, 368–370.
Sunday observance, 104, 105, 363–365.

Tait, Archbp., 108, 109.
Tavern, Subway, 368–370.
Taylor, Thomas House, 69, 70.
Thanksgiving Day sermon, 1865, 47; 1886, 63–65.
Thompson, Walter, 192, 193.

Trask, Spencer, 256, 259.
Trinity Church, bicentenary, 291.
Trinity College, confers degree, 134.
Troy, residence in, 43–57.
Turner, Thornton F., 360.

Union College, 9, 11, 12, 57, 134, 246, 247.

Van Allen, Dr., 373.
Van Dyke, Dr. Henry, 295.
Van Wyck, Mayor, letter to, 328–331; letter from, 331, 332.
Vinton, Bp., sermon at consecration of, 349.
Virginia Theological Seminary, 24–33.
Vows, revocable and irrevocable, 163–165.

Walter, W. H., 12, 13.
Ward, Nathaniel, 2, 4.
Washington, anniversary of inauguration of, 224, 225; address on occasion, 226–234; comments on address, 234–238; prayer at dedication of Arch, 288–289.
"Waymarks," 260.
Wayne, sermon at, 247–248.
Welsh, Herbert, 236.
Williams, Bp., 12, 58, 127, 265.
Winslow, William Copley, 215, 216.
Wolfe, Miss Catherine Lorillard, 95.
Woman's Auxiliary, 76.
Women in church work, 76–79, 131–133.

Y. M. C. A. address, 54–56.
Yale University, confers degree, 342; lectures at, 343–346.

Zanzibar, bishop of, 90.

Printed in the United States of America.

THE following pages contain advertisements of books by the same author or on kindred subjects.

NEW EDITIONS OF DEAN HODGES'S BOOKS

Christianity between Sundays	*$1.25*
The Heresy of Cain	*$1.25*
The Battles of Peace	*$1.25*
Human Nature of the Saints	*$1.25*
The Year of Grace (2 volumes)	*Each $1.25*
The Path of Life	*$1.25*
Cross and Passion	*$1.00*
In This Present World	*$1.25*
Faith and Social Service	*$1.25*

Uniformly bound, each 12mo

Dean George Hodges is one of those gifted writers who makes of religion a very practical thing. He neither tires the reader with discussions of dogmas nor of creeds, but as a critic once put it, "gets down to business in a businesslike fashion." His books which have previously been published and are known to many men and women are reissued now in new editions bound uniformly in blue cloth. Individually and collectively they demonstrate once more the truth of the *Christian Register's* comment that "Dr. Hodges is an inspired apostle of the new philanthropy." The intimate talks in the volumes are on themes of vital interest to every one living in this twentieth century. They contain possibilities of application so pointed and evident that "they convey their own instruction and their own impulse," to quote further from the *Christian Register's* remarks on one of the author's works, which may in absolute truth be applied to them all.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers **64-66 Fifth Avenue** **New York**

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Classbook of Old Testament History

By GEORGE HODGES

Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge

Cloth, 12mo, $1.00

This volume, with a simplicity of style that charms the reader, brings the results of the best scholarship of the day, without any reference to the processes, to the general reader. Old Testament History is not found in the Bible as a continuous narrative. The author gives two reasons why it is necessary for the Old Testament to be rewritten for the general reader. First, as it stands it is in two editions. "One edition includes the books from Genesis to Second Kings. The other edition includes the books from First Chronicles to Nehemiah." To get the entire history it is necessary to bring these two series of books together. The second reason is that there are books of poetry, and especially books of prophecy, in the Old Testament, which were written in the midst of the events which historians narrate and these books bring new light to the events the historians narrate, but they are placed to themselves. Historical criticism has done an enormous amount of keen critical work in analyzing and constructing the materials. The result is that to-day we can get a pretty good idea of the actual history of the Hebrews. This book gives this history for the general reader.

The table of dates at the close of the book will be found to be most useful. Beginning two thousand years before Christ the great dates are given down to the conquest of Syria and Palestine by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. The book will be most useful to the general reader, and for classroom work.

Everyman's Religion

Cloth, 12mo, $1.50

Macmillan Standard Library Edition, 50 cents

Underlying the many sects of the Christian religion there are certain fundamental facts which are sometimes lost sight of in the devotion to a particular creed. The purpose of Dean Hodges's book is to present these essential elements of Christian faith and life in a manner simple, unconventional and appealing to a man's common sense. The conclusions which the author arrives at are largely orthodox, but the reasoning makes no use of the argument from authority.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64–66 Fifth Avenue New York

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

The Episcopal Church:

Its Faith and Order

Cloth, 12mo, $1.25

This volume is a concise statement of the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church.

It is intended for three groups — the younger clergymen who will find in the analyses prefaced to the chapters material that will be valuable in their own teaching, members of confirmation classes who will be helped by the summaries which it contains, and persons who are desirous of knowing the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church. The volume embodies the results of twenty years' experience in the instruction of students in the Episcopal Theological School. In the midst of many natural differences of emphasis and opinion those positions are indicated in this work in which most members of the Episcopal Church are substantially agreed.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	The Bible	3
II.	The Prayer Book	21
III.	Baptism	41
IV.	Confirmation	59
V.	Renunciation	77
VI.	Obedience	95
VII.	The Creed	117
VIII.	The Church	141
IX.	Prayer	165
X.	The Holy Communion	183

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64–66 Fifth Avenue New York

NEW BIOGRAPHY

The Life of Clara Barton

By PERCY H. EPLER

Illustrated, Cloth, 12mo

This is the first biography that has ever been published on the life of Clara Barton. From the wealth of material at his disposal the author has made a most fascinating book. Miss Barton's friend, he has supplemented his own knowledge of her with facts drawn from her diaries, correspondence, lectures, and addresses. It has been his purpose, in so far as is possible, to reveal the story of Miss Barton's life through her own writings and consequently much use is made of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. The result is a vivid picture of a woman whose passion for humanity was so great that even though she was eighty years old she went to the front at the beginning of the Spanish War. Dr. Epler reviews Miss Barton's entire career from her school-teaching days through the battlefields of the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Spanish War, to her death in 1911.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64-66 Fifth Avenue New York

NEW BIOGRAPHY

In the Footsteps of Napoleon:

His Life and Its Famous Scenes

By JAMES MORGAN

Author of "Abraham Lincoln," "The Life Work of Edward A. Moseley in the Service of Humanity," etc.

Illustrated, Cloth, 12mo

This is a new and fascinating biography of one of the most interesting men the world has known. It is the result of a five months' tour by Mr. Morgan, who started at Napoleon's birthplace in Corsica and followed the "path" of his eventful career from city to city, from post to post, from success to downfall and death. Napoleon's story is as dramatic as any in history and as it is told against its true background the incidents stand out more vividly than ever before, and a more accurate concept of the real character of the man and of the significance of the affairs in which he played the leading part is made possible. The illustrations, collected from many sources and including a number of rare prints and drawings, constitute a complete pictorial survey of the life of the "little Corsican."

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64–66 Fifth Avenue New York

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 006 165 5